Human Resource and Corporate Social Responsibility Concepts between Fashionable Luxury, Old Conflicts of Interests, and New Lines of Flight

Thesis
presented to the Faculty of Arts
of
the University of Zurich
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by
Anja Ostendorp
of Germany

Accepted on the recommendation of

Professor Dr. François Stoll
and
Professor Dr. Chris Steyaert

Zurich 2006

Acknowledgements

Looking back on a long time brimming with investigating, interviewing, and writing, I would like to express a very warm thank you to all those who have accompanied and supported me during the years of the thesis. Heartfelt thanks for all inspiring questions, talks, phone calls, mails, and SMS, as well as for those laid-back "real" or malt beers, coffees or buttermilks, pizzas and picnics.

There are a few people I would like to name explicitly. First of all, I want to express my sincere gratitude to my advisors Prof. Dr. François Stoll and Prof. Dr. Chris Steyaert. Heartfelt thanks for very inspiring suggestions, great working conditions, and the best kind of support; and thank you, Chris, for always asking the right questions! A very special thank also to Dr. Julia Nentwich, for providing deeply appreciated reflections, and for all kinds of innovative work-life support – thank you, Julia!

Likewise, I would like to acknowledge my deep felt thanks to the overall chair for organizational psychology at the University of St. Gallen as well as to the many different Brown Bag participants (my goodness, food again!) for almost four years of very fruitful dialogues, challenging language games, and a rich array of lines of flight. Thank you all for making this place a great place to work – and not just "work"!

I am also much obliged to all the interviewees and organizations who agreed to participate. By welcoming me in a very open and friendly way, they contributed precious time and reflections – thus providing the very different voices who have brought this thesis into being in the first place.

Moreover, I am very indebted to the Swiss National Science Foundation for awarding me a biennial Marie-Heim-Vöglin-grant – it provided a stable basis for all my further endeavours.

Ultimately, I want to express a very special thank to all my friends, especially, and with emphasis, to my partner and colleague Carsten Ostendorp, my friend Helga Sandl, my sisters (-in-law) Sybille Renner and Angélique Bellafiore-Ostendorp, and my parents Eva Breuer-Renner and Hans Renner. Thank you all for candid support and encouragement during a time that was not only a bed of roses!

And last, but definitely not least, a very, very special and heartfelt thank to my children Timea and Mauriz. Thank you for everything – for your lively filial interest in my work, for your patience, and for showing me that there are always more things in life than writing a thesis...

Table of contents

Abstract

The present project tackles current human resource and corporate social responsibility concepts in Swiss large-scale enterprises. Leaving the commonly used categories aside, it aims to approach the different endeavours by moving beyond fashionable terms like "managing diversity", "health care", "work-life balance", or "corporate volunteering". By means of a multi-perspective qualitative research design, the different constructions are explored and discussed in view of stagnancy and movement. The results suggest three different main discourses or "interpretative repertoires" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) upon which actors currently draw when making sense of the different human resource and social responsibility endeavours: (1) *ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization*, (2) *interests of minorities and good deeds on the margins of the organization*, and (3) *different voices within the overall organization.* Modelled on the first two repertoires, the different endeavours turn out to be conceived of either as a fair-weather luxury in order to conserve the "ideal workforce" or as well-meant perks for clearly definable minority groups. Finally, the third repertoire approaches the concepts from a broader corporate cultural background. Modelled on the "voices repertoire", the different endeavours are conceived of as diverse ways to bridge the dichotomous spheres and encourage a variety of voices to have their say. From this point of view, drawing on the interrelatedness and common grounds of the different concepts means tapping their full potential for organizational (as well as societal) change. Therefore, the present project offers a perspective on differences that integrates currently well-known fields in management such as "managing diversity" (MD), "human resource management" (HRM), "corporate social responsibility" (CSR), and, finally, "organizational change management" (OCM).

Zusammenfassung

Mit dem Fokus auf (pro)soziale Interventionen beleuchtet dieses Projekt aktuelle Human Resource und Corporate Social Responsibility Konzepte in Schweizer Grossunternehmen jenseits derzeit geläufiger Kategorien und trendsetzender Bezeichnungen wie „Managing Diversity“, „Health Care“, „Work-Life-Balance“ oder „Corporate Volunteering“. Mittels eines qualitativen, multiperspektivischen Forschungsdesigns werden die verschiedenen Konstruktionen analysiert und mit Blick auf Stagnation und Bewegung diskutiert. Dabei werden drei Hauptdiskurse bzw. interpretative Repertoires nach Potter & Wetherell (1987) identifiziert. So werden die Konzepte verstanden als (1) *Luxus idealer Arbeitskräfte im Zentrum der Organisation*, (2) *Interessen von Minoritäten und gute Taten an den Rändern der Organisation* und (3) als *Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Stimmen innerhalb der gesamten Organisation*. An den ersten beiden Repertoires orientiert, erweisen sich die verschiedenen Bemühungen entweder als Luxus in guten Zeiten, um die “ideale” Arbeitskraft zu erhalten, oder als gut gemeinte Vergünstigungen für klar definierbare Minderheitsgruppen. Das dritte Repertoire dagegen nähert sich den verschiedenen Konzepten auf einer breiteren, unternehmenskulturell verankerten Grundlage. Hier werden die jeweils implementierten Konzepte als unterschiedliche Wege verstanden, um dichotome Sphären zu überbrücken sowie Stimmenvielfalt zu fördern und im gesamten Unternehmen hörbar zu machen .

Sich auf die Querverbindungen der verschiedenen Konzepte zu beziehen und anstelle einer starren Kategorisierung ihre Gemeinsamkeiten zu betonen, heisst, ihr Potenzial für Nachhaltigkeit und organisationalen Wandel auszuschöpfen. Entsprechend bietet das vorliegende Projekt eine Perspektive an, die derzeit wohlbekannte Felder des Management – wie “Managing Diversity”(MD), “Human Resource Management” (HRM), “Corporate Social Responsibility” (CRS) oder “Organizational Change Management” (OCM) zusammenführt.

1 Introduction

In times of globalisation and intercultural exchange, where people of various ages, with diverse ethnic, ethical, religious and familial backgrounds, of different gender, sexual orientation and physical condition are working together, thoughts of pluralism are nothing unusual. Furthermore, the traditional male life course, with continuous fulltime employment, is increasingly becoming fractured into patchwork careers strung between freelancing and unemployment, marked by multiple engagements and obligations. Questions of social responsibility are high on the agenda, and, correspondingly, the future of the traditional working society is often painted as a society of diverse activities (Beck, 1999, 2000; Bonß, 2002; Giarini & Liedtke, 1998; Mutz, 1997, 2002; Senghaas-Knobloch, 1999). Organizations, as mirrors of society, find themselves facing the phenomenon of border-crossing and border-shifting towards a society of diverse activities and differences. As a result, large companies in particular are increasingly referring to corresponding measures in terms of human resource (HR) and corporate social responsibility (CSR) concepts. They appear to welcome “multicultural teams” and various “ethnic affiliations”, speak of “gender equity” and different “sexual orientations”, and call themselves “friendly” in relation to several different target groups. They engage in measures to “balance” what they call “work” on the one hand and “life” on the other and claim to “care” for the “health” of their employees. They emphasise matters of “volunteering” and “donating” in addition to “corporate” issues, offer cut-rate tickets for cultural events, provide tennis courts and swimming pools and – finally – promise an efficient “management” of all this “diversity”.

However, the future of these different organizational trends is very uncertain. It would be a bold venture to forecast which of these special offerings will outlive the contemporary vogue. There are plenty of different issues, which are discussed as rather unconnected and selectively applied within a variety of organizational endeavours. Some of these trends centre on very particular groups of employees or tackle isolated emergency cases arising within the organizational context. Others point to a luxurious (and very competitive) comfort that they provide. Some claim to contribute to a particular "pro-social mission", whereas others, in turn, stress a more general idea of social processes and differences. Be that as it may, the different HR and CSR concepts are accompanied by pressing underlying issues. For instance, their broader goals, organizational relevance and feasibility are often very unclear and controversially discussed. Although the concepts are quite popular these days, these issues seem to be either neglected or picked out rather selectively – both within literature and organizational practice. With regard to the understandings of the variety of current HR and CSR constructions in general, a great deal of confusion seems to prevail. For instance, a fashionable term like "work-life balance" underlies rather nebulous images and tangled assumptions – ranging from the hectic combination of diverse obligations to a venturesome "carpe diem". Indeed, the division into "work" on the one hand and "life" on the other appears to be particularly problematic (cf., Resch & Bamberg, 2005; Ulich & Wülser, 2004). Either way, it is very unclear what relationship the concept has with endeavours of "diversity", "health care", or even "volunteering". First of all, it seems to highly overlap with gender issues. Second, it is increasingly used when introducing organizational interventions of health promotion. In both cases, "work-life" measures are mainly discussed as an issue of human resource management. When talking about "corporate volunteering" or "corporate citizenship", however, the concept is occasionally also referred to as an intervention of "corporate social responsibility". Moreover, it can appear as an illustration of different ways of life in general – be it about "human resources", "responsibility", or (individual as well as organizational) "change".

In spite of all this representational confusion, this project approaches the current HR and CSR concepts as having at least one crucial mutuality: Responding to different needs and interests of particular employees, to different ways of life in general and/ or social interactions within the organization, the different concepts seem to deal with an increased awareness of “social” issues. In this sense, the current project conceives of them as a variety of “stimulating interventions” when it comes to organizational life and its challenge of organizing diversity and differences. Consequently, it aims to bring the different HR and CSR endeavours together and to analyse them in view of their approaches to both different (individual) ways of life and (corporate cultural) processes of social interaction. Rather than playing them off against each other, therefore, the project is supposed to provide an integrative familiarisation with the range of contemporary concepts.

Analysing virtually new connections of current HR and CSR concepts gives rise to the need to address central questions underlying each of the different measures simultaneously, such as questions of their broader organizational acceptance and positioning, further impact on sustainability and corporate cultural issues. In this vein, the project aims to analyse their respective contents, aims, and target groups and to discuss their cultural positions and further virtual impact on organizational processes against a shared backdrop.

Understanding the potential for organizational change of fashionable concepts such as “managing diversity”, “health care”, or “corporate volunteering”, therefore, firstly requires going beyond the different constructions of the current measures. These constructions can be approached in terms of ongoing processes of “sense-making” (Weick, 1995). Thus, they are conceived of as dependent on currently available language sources that allow specific ways of “sense-“ or “meaning-making” while disguising others (e.g., Brockmeier & Harré, 2001; Bruner, 1990, 1997, 2001; K. J. Gergen, 1994; K. J. Gergen, 1999). An account of an organizational HR or CSR concept, then, can never act as a direct access to its “universally valid” nature. By no means is it understood as an “objective” description of what the respective measure is “really” like. Rather, it is conceived of as a genuine process of sense-making that plays a part in the broader discourse on HR and CSR concepts. Giving account of each measure, therefore, is understood as an active, productive process that draws upon and associates cultural historically produced resources of sense-making while neglecting or dissociating others (cf., chap. 3). Thus, speakers confirm, reproduce or modify meaning by means of contemporarily available language sources and therefore negotiate the respective concepts time and again. While some of these processes confirm and reproduce traditional patterns of sense-making, others may break new ground by drawing upon and giving voice to less well-established alternatives.

In this sense, the current project does not conceive of the HR and CSR concepts as clearly definable, fixed organizational products. By contrast, it approaches them as (somehow connected or disconnected) interventions that are always open to negotiation between its different actors. Consequently, "sense-making" becomes "concept-making". For instance, the meaning of a particular measure or initiative in the area of current health care concepts could be (partly) constructed as an endeavour of providing a smooth production flow. Thus, suitable resources of concept-making could stem from the realm of more technical processes and stress aspects like "efficiency" or "calculation". Another meaning could (again: partly) be given by drawing upon discourses of "expectations based on the zeitgeist", "public relations" and "competition" with other "modern" and "successful" companies. Furthermore, the account might draw on discourses on "alternative working models" or "disability and work". In this case, speakers could make use of more general ideologies of "social responsibility" or emphasise their curiosity towards "otherness" and so on.

Using an approach derived from a discursive psychology perspective (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002; Potter, 1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wood & Kroger, 2000), therefore, this project addresses (increasingly multiple) sources of discourse or interpretative repertoires upon which individuals can draw while giving meaning to the different concepts. Such a discursive psychological approach – to summarise – centres on the outlined assumption that any HR and CSR endeavour is built and rebuilt by means of organizational (as well as inextricably societal) interpretative repertoires, discourses, narratives, or ideologies.[1] Whether the focus is on

1 A conceptual specification of these terms is provided in chapter 3. To simplify matters, until then the terms will be used synonymously.

contents and targets of “diversity”, “health care”, or “volunteering”, then, the different constructions are conceived of as constantly open to negotiation, always “in the making”, a work in progress.

In order to provide an overview of current HR and CSR endeavours and to illustrate the empirical field of the project, the following chapter begins by shedding light on prevalent contemporary concepts in terms of “diversity” (2.1.), “health care” (2.2), and “volunteering” (2.3). In conclusion, it will then be possible to provide reflections upon the empirical field and to shape a tentative problem formulation (2.4). Following this introductory overview of *current concepts at work*, chapter 3 approaches a *reality in the making*, with the aim of establishing an epistemological and ontological basis of the project. After an illustration of different approaches to language and reality that form notions of linguistic turn(s) (3.1), section 3.2 introduces and specifies current narrative and discursive psychological approaches. These illustrations finally provide a basis for section 3.3, which elaborates the goals of the project and substantiates the research questions. The procedure (4.1) and further methodological considerations on *research in the making* (4.2) will be illustrated in chapter 4. Finally, chapter 5 presents the results in terms of three interpretative repertoires. These current language resources of “concept-making” are referred to as *ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization* (5.1), *minority interests and good deeds on the margins of the organization* (5.2), and *different voices within the overall organization* (5.3). In order to analyse the respective organizational positioning and impact of the concepts, chapter 6 *searches for potential for change*. Therefore, it discusses the three repertoires with regard to their potential impact on stagnancy and movement of the different HR and CSR concepts. The results of the project will be linked up and discussed in view of other psychological and philosophical concepts and potential agreements (chap. 7). As a conclusion, chapter 8 summarizes the main findings and provides an overview of the different repertoires and their consequences in table form. Finally, it sums up the main contributions of the project and discusses further implications and hints for research and practice. Following the references, the appendix provides an insight into the different guidelines for the interviews.

2 Current concepts at work: An overview

Analysing constructions of current HR and CSR concepts firstly requires an understanding of the interpretative repertoires by means of which employees and experts give meaning to them. In order to analyse this very “building blocks of conversation” (Edley, 2001, p. 198) that speakers accomplish and draw upon within their processes of sense-making, the current project includes very different concepts, ranging from small measures like a lecture on stress-management to a vital program like “SeitenWechsel”. Thus, the empirical field of the project includes a selection of three contemporary HR and CSR fields, of “diversity”, “health care”, and “volunteering”. These fields are all primarily geared to “social issues” by means of attaching importance to different aspects of (individual and organizational) everyday life, chosen from a range of further HR and CSR constructions that are quite popular in Swiss organizations nowadays. Whereas many of the current concepts are ascribed to the area of human resource management – such as “intercultural training”, “new models of working time”, or “health care services”, others are commonly referred to as endeavours of “corporate social responsibility” – such as “corporate volunteering” and “citizenship”, “environment”, or – even more abstractly – “sustainability”. Sometimes, they are explicitly understood as a field of both. In this sense, the subject of “volunteering” or – though less frequent – “diversity” and even “health care” can be simultaneously discussed in terms of both “human resource management” *and* “corporate social responsibility”.

By means of including current “diversity” concepts, first of all, the project aims to look into contemporary Swiss approaches to diversity and differences in general. While often referred to as a challenging task of “successful” human resource management, this field is sometimes also explicitly approached within the context of “social responsibility” – or simply on its own. Concepts of “health care”, in turn, are supposed to take up the widespread trend of “well-being”. These concepts seem to be commonly positioned within endeavours of human resource management. By contrast, the field of “volunteering” is rather associated with “social responsibility”, although there is an increasing body of voices that approach the subject against the backdrop of “human resource management” or “management development” in particular. In this vein, the program “SeitenWechsel” can provide an example of current interventions in terms of “volunteering” that features an obvious interface: Being associated with popular keywords such as “social competences”, “sustainability”, “corporate citizenship”, or “corporate volunteering”, the program acts as an illustration of how measures of “social responsibility” and “human resource management” can be explicitly meshed.

The following sections will briefly introduce these three fields, “diversity” (2.1), “health care” (2.2), and “volunteering” (2.3). Since the selection of the empirical field could have doubtlessly been based upon a virtually infinite amount of aspects and combinations, the present chapter will be rounded off by initial methodological reflections upon the construction of the empirical field, followed by a tentative problem formulation (2.4).

2.1 On “diversity”

A first field that the present project aims to look into is called “diversity management” or – increasingly often – “managing diversity” if not simply “diversity”. In order to analyse current constructions of this field, it might be helpful to briefly recall its cultural historical developments and to give an overview of some recently applied conceptual strands within large Swiss companies.

Emphasizing a diverse workforce in terms of “diversity management” dates back from the US-American management literature of the early 1990’s (Cox, 1991; Cox & Blake, 1991; Jackson, 1991; McEnrue, 1992; Morrison, 1992; Thomas, 1990, 1991). In this literature, a first important mark in the history of the field can be seen in a report called *Workforce 2000* by Johnston and Packer (1987). This report forecasted American demographic developments within the twenty-first century. In so doing, it outlined a plurality of workforce for which organizations had to prepare themselves. In this sense, the field originally stems from the concern of a proper, future-proof “management” of “human resources”. Adapting to changing societal developments, it was geared to prepare – to cite the subtitle of this initial report – *Work and Workers for theTwenty-First Century*.

In general, notions of "diversity" can emphasise a range of diverse ethnic affiliations, different gender, sexual orientation and marital status, diverse age and family backgrounds, physical conditions and ethical or religious orientation, and various hierarchical education and positions, values and lifestyles, likes and interests. In the USA, there is a momentous tradition of specific training programs focusing on awareness and skills-building (Ferdman & Brody, 1996; Hayles, 1996; Rhodes, 1999). With regard to the variety of notions that the subject of diversity might constitute, the literature on diversity discusses whether a narrow or a broad approach might be more appropriate for the subject (cf., Janssens & Steyaert, 2003; Nkomo, 1996; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001; Thomas, 1991; Wentling, 2001). Thus, there are many specific main focuses such as an elaborated perspective on "multicultural organizations" (Cox, 1991, 1993; Cox & Blake, 1991; Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; W. E. Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen, 1993). Whereas a term like "cultural diversity" often exclusively entails ethnic aspects, there are also approaches that subsume further aspects such as gender, age, or disability as "cultural" (cf., Blank & Slipp, 1994).

Recently the subject has also received increasing attention in Europe and the German-speaking area (Aretz & Hansen, 2003; Emmerich & Krell, 2001; Jent, 2003, 2004; Krell, 2001; Sepehri, 2002; Stuber, 2004). Nowadays, a great many large companies in Switzerland are able to show endeavours in terms of "diversity", "diversity management", or "managing diversity". In this regard, "cultural diversity" acts as an important field. The term refers to "multicultural communication", or, more obviously overlapping aspects of social responsibility, "intercultural competence" (Erdönmez, 2004; Kopper, 1996; Kopper & Kiechl, 1997). Stressing the relevance of a "multicultural workforce", companies present measures and initiatives ranging from cultural awareness networks" (cf., www.ubs.com/1/e/about/diversity/employeegroups/cultural_awareness_network.html) to calendars that transport the idea of "cultural diversity" (www.mda.ch/download/diversity-kal-samm.pdf). In so doing, on the one hand, organizations refer to a suitable customer orientation and more general global visions and images of powerful players. On the other hand, they conceive of the workplace as an important place of "integration". In this vein, there are Swiss campaigns and reports on integration and work (cf. www.eka-cfe.ch, www.travailsuisse.ch, www.ifmd.org). Against this backdrop, "cultural diversity" in organizations can be explicitly subsumed under further keywords such as "anti-discrimination", or "equal opportunities". For instance, a cultural project of "integrating young foreigners" by ABB, a large company of power and automation technologies, is introduced as "integration and training of underprivileged people" (www.philias.org/en/centrecsr/cas_en/abb.html).

Aside from "culture", current Swiss diversity concepts often explicitly draw on a long tradition of "gender" (see below), more recently (and often interlinked) on "working models", and, increasingly, on the subject of "sexual orientation".[2] Thus, for instance, in 1997, Switzerland's biggest travel and transport company SBB founded "Pink Rail", the first corporate organization for gays and lesbians (www.pinkrail.ch), and, in 2001, the Swiss Reinsurance Company Swiss Re started its club "Woolf n' Wilde".[3] Likewise, the pharmaceutical concern Novartis backs the interest group of the chemical and pharmaceuticals industry "pink molecules" (mypage.bluewin.ch/a-z/PM/start.htm) and is involved in events such as the "Basler Diversity Konferenz" on "diversity management and sexual orientation at work" (www.safpro.ch/diversity). Furthermore, other companies are increasingly referring to similar initiatives. They have "gay-lesbian networks" (i.e., www.ubs.com/1/e/media_overview/media_switzerland/diversity/html) and are adjusting the "Pensionskassenreglement" to civil unions of same-sex partnerships (Habrik & Fischer, 2005). In this vein, large concerns such as Coop, Ikea, Novartis, Migros, or Swiss Re support the influential brochure "Queer im Job" (www.pinkcross.ch/arbeitswelt), which documents corporate philosophies concerning "diversity and sexual orientation" and introduces different campaigns of more than 60 national and international organizations.

[2] With regard to these main focuses, one could state that contemporary Swiss companies act in the tradition of *either* "gender and diversity" *or* "cultural diversity" – a reasonable, but rather simplistic (and reproductive) categorization.

[3] This initiative for gay and lesbian employees is, among others, introduced within "Philias" which is – interestingly enough – a Swiss network of "Corporate Social Responsibility" (www.philias.org/en/centrecsr/cp_consult_entreprises_en.html).

As another current main focus of "diversity", organizations are increasingly referring to new working models and issues of time and compatibility. In some cases, these endeavours are explicitly subsumed under the term "diversity". Then again, they are discussed aside from or even instead of a more general "diversity".[4]

Either way, the subject proves to be vital. According to recent international surveys, which among other things aimed to capture the career goals of Swiss young professionals and graduates as well as their favoured employers among large-scale enterprises, the desire to "balance personal life and career" continually ranked in first place (UniversumCommunications, 2002, 2003). Perhaps more meaningful than the mere confirmation that graduates stress the importance of combining different activities might be the fact that contemporary large-scale surveys – as a matter of course – include such questions and give them a prominent voice. In order to avoid restrictive implications, several attempts have been made to refer to a broader term and to subsume it under the "management" of "diversity". In this sense, Lobel (1999) speaks of this subject as a way of helping employees to manage the interface between their paid work and other important life activities. In general, therefore, "work-life" concepts can be conceived of as endeavours that are geared towards supporting and fostering a "compatibility" with other interests, needs, engagements, obligations, hobbies or likes, be they educational or other private care obligations or institutionalized "volunteering", sports or health care activities, travelling, or any other cultural interests. In this sense, Swiss organizations are increasingly implementing measures that are aimed at enabling a compatibility of work and further demands (Bürgisser, 1996, 2001a; Hasler, 2001). They are supporting new models of working hours (Ulich, 2000), measures like job sharing (Baillod, 2002; Zölch, Wodtke, & Haselwander, 2002) or "TopSharing"[5]. In the tradition of gender equity, this is seen as a way to undermine notions of the male breadwinner and to encourage women to have a demanding career (Campbell Clark, 2000; Lewis, 1997, 2001; Ostendorp & Nentwich, 2005; Ostendorp, Nentwich, Resch,

---

[4] Thus, certainly there are strong arguments as to why this focus could be introduced within a separate section. Since the empirical field addressed the subject solely within the contact points of "diversity", however, the respective measures will be introduced within this section.

[5] "TopSharing" (Kuark, 2002) is a Swiss project that aims at fostering the well-known concept of job sharing by means of explicitly addressing people in leading positions.

& Dachler, 2003; Tienari, Quack, & Theobald, 2002; Williams, 2000). Such a perspective draws upon research on gender in organizations and resumes its crucial discussions (Acker, 1990, 1992a; Alvesson & Billing, 1997; Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998; Calàs & Smircich, 1996; Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Nentwich, 2004). Against this gender-related backdrop, organizations launch women's networks (e.g. ubs.com/1/e/media_overview /media_switzerland/diversity.html) or mentoring programs like WIN – women into industry – (www.novartis.ch/jobs/de/win.shtml), and discuss special initiatives for fathers (Kress, Seehausen, & Strohmeier, 1999; Schär-Moser, 2001).

Another subject of organizational diversity concepts that seems to be gaining in importance for the future is that of "older employees", or "age". It might be linked to further fields such as "disability", "life-balance", or "health care". The latter will be introduced within the following section.

2.2 On "health care"

Referring to changing discourses of "well-being"(Sointu, 2005), an important pillar of current human resource endeavours is primarily concerned with general questions of well-being and fostering health in the workplace. Stating an increasing popularity of the ideal of health, organizations refer to themselves as "healthy" and announce respective measures. An analysis of current organizational health care concepts should therefore include the contemporary trend of "well-being" in organizations and link it to other HR and CSR endeavours.

An overview on *Gesundheitsförderung in Schweizer Betrieben* is provided by Schwager and Udris (1996; 1998). First of all, they claim that the transformation of health-related concerns is superficial, and go on to criticize a deficient structural awareness. Thus, in Swiss companies, primarily, the health and well-being trend seems to have affected health and fitness-related facilities and ergonomics from massage services to gyms. There are campaigns and contests such as the "Schweizer Firmen Triathlon", which calls for "the fittest company in Switzerland" (www.firmentriathlon.ch) or "Bike to Work", a call on employees to come to work by bike within a defined period of time, entering a contest in the process (www.biketowork.ch/fileadmin/allgemein/pdfs/velojournal_04-2005.pdf). First initiated in 2005, it has already been announced that these campaigns will be repeated in 2006. Moreover, services can include health newsletters and brochures, lectures and workshops on health-related topics and stress management, mobile health vans, check-ups, healthy food selection, or help to give up smoking. In addition, Swiss Companies increasingly engage in the European Network for Workplace Health Promotion ENWHP, in which, among others, ABB acts as a model of "good practice" (www.enwhp.org).

Either way, the field of "health care" in large Swiss companies usually has its own organizational contact points and representatives. With the exception of a very small number of organizations, issues of "health care" and "promotion of health in the workplace" are commonly discussed separately from "diversity" or "volunteering". In this vein, the common measures largely seem to ensue without notions of differences. If the adjective "social" is included, it is often due to organizational challenges such as alcoholism or debt of the employees. Rather than being further linked to endeavours of social responsibility, then, the field is commonly understood as a challenge of human resource management.

However, constructions of health care might, in many regards, be understood as overlapping other fields. For instance, one might source links to increasingly popular subjects of "diversity" such as "aging" or "disability". In this context, one could ask how common threads are accomplished and how such interfaces can contribute to an interrelated perspective on the different HR and CSR concepts in general. At the Reinsurance Company Swiss Re, for instance, the diversity representative is at the same time explicitly in charge of subjects of "health" (www.swissre.com). With regard to interfaces to "corporate social responsibility", furthermore, there appear to be some uses of language that – at least formally – combine "health care" and "social responsibility". Manor, a large-scale enterprise from the retail sector, for instance, promotes its project "Santé Plus: La promotion de la santé pour les collaborateurs". Interestingly enough, "Santé Plus" is represented as an illustration of social responsibility within "Philias", the Swiss network of "Corporate Social Responsibility" (www.philias.org/fr/centrecsr/

cas_fr/manor_sante.html.). Migros, another large Swiss company from the retail sector, announced the year 2005 as "the year of health". Here one can trace back similar tentative interfaces to other HR and CSR constructions. For instance, on its website, the company subordinates its health care measures under the term "social responsibility" – another rare interface of the different fields (www.migros.ch/UeberMigros.htm).

Furthermore, the endeavours of work-life arrangements introduced above offer a great many interfaces between notions of "diversity" on the one hand, and "health care" on the other. Thus, another important source that "work-life" concepts are drawing on is nurtured by research on health and well-being in the workplace (Danna & Griffin, 1999; Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001; Ulich & Wülser, 2004). From this perspective, reflections on well-being can give rise to questions relating to time and working hours. Within this tradition, concepts like the Scandinavian "total work load" approach are discussed (Frankenhaeuser, 1991). A particular achievement of this approach is the endeavour to bridge the gap between occupational work and other fields of everyday life where action can take place. Thus, it aims at expanding the psychophysical perspective on work and bringing the different fields of action together by means of analysing the impact of the whole workload of a person. Tackling questions relating to health psychology, therefore, Richter (1997, p.21) discusses the relationship between "vita activa" and "vita contemplativa" from a work psychological point of view, and stresses the importance of "labora et otium". In this vein, health-care issues can turn into a matter of positive emotions (Frederikson, 1998; Warr, 1999) and flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997). Considerations in terms of constructions of what is called "full-time" and different working-time models, then, can also be conceived of as a pressing concern of health-care concepts as well (Bosch, 1999; Sparks, Cooper, Fried, & Shirmon, 1997; Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001; Ulich & Wülser, 2004). This, again, offers an interface of "health-care" concepts on the one hand and gender, diversity, and volunteering issues on the other. The latter will be finally introduced within section 2.3.

2.3 On "volunteering"

As illustrated, a great deal of confusion prevails concerning the positioning of the different interacting and overlapping concepts in general. Indeed, more confusion still arises whenever people try to relate a particular organizational endeavour to the overarching notion of "corporate social responsibility". While the previous health-care and work-life issues were initially linked to a human resource perspective, the subject of "volunteering" is usually linked to the term "corporate social responsibility" (Birch, 2003; Carroll, 1999; Etzioni, 2000; Matten & Moon, 2004). Together with programs labelled as "corporate giving", i.e. the donation of money and gifts for public welfare, "corporate volunteering" is conceived of as "corporate community involvement"(Logan & Tuffrey, 2000). Thus, it is linked to a clear charitable definition and is conceived of as part of "corporate citizenship" (Beck, 2000; Giarini & Liedtke, 1998; Habisch, 2003; Logan & Tuffrey, 1999, 2000; Ostendorp, Ostendorp, & Wehner, 2001; Schubert, Littmann-Wernli, & Tingler, 2002; Wehner, Mieg, & Ostendorp, 2003; Westebbe & Logan, 1996). Within current discourse on "corporate volunteering" and "corporate citizenship" from the German-speaking area, it is argued that volunteering acts as a promising way to foster social competences (Schöffmann, 2001; Schönig & Krauss, 2002). Hence, the discourse calls on organizations to instigate and support volunteering interests of their employees.

Following the "Year of Volunteering" in 2001, different endeavours are increasingly being discussed in Switzerland (Ammann, 2001; Bürgisser, 2001b; Schubert, Littmann-Wernli, & Tingler, 2002; Wehner, Mieg, & Ostendorp, 2003). Corresponding corporate volunteering endeavours focus on employees donating their time and know-how. This means that the subject of volunteering also has to address questions of time and preferences. Furthermore, volunteering can be understood as a field of experimentation that confronts employees with "other" worlds outside the everyday life of their company and enriches experiences in terms of diversity and differences. Against this backdrop, one can again discern different interfaces with other HR and CSR concepts. This makes it interesting to include this subject in the empirical field and to focus on its shared pressing issues such as organizational "acceptance", "feasibility", or "sustainability".

In terms of management development and social competences, there are elaborated programs in order to instigate new experiences and reflections on broader (pro-)social connections. Stemming from Switzerland is the program "SeitenWechsel" (Ettlin, Meier-Dallach, & Schweizerische Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft, 2003; Schubert, Littmann-Wernli, & Tingler, 2002) (www.seitenwechsel.ch).[6] While stressing its educational intent, it explicitly distances itself from the term "corporate volunteering" (cf., Ammann, 2003). "SideSwitch" has been widely noted and drawn upon, also internationally.

The concept is based on arrangements with volunteering initiatives. It aims to invite paid employees to take on social tasks or projects in order to gain an insight into the so-called "other side". In this spirit, a change of sides is meant to bring together what is commonly termed as "profit" and "non-profit organizations". To illustrate such a program, take, for example, a hardworking, middle-aged manager who gets involved in a program like "SideSwitch". Within the scope of an introductory day, the manager will be acquainted with a social initiative in which he or she might subsequently work for one week. There, the participant might be faced with new questions of social justice and volunteering in particular or time and diversity in general. In a retrospective narrative, then, this week may constitute what Bruner calls a "turning point" (1990; 1993; 2001).[7] The participant might draw on new social networks and thus, for instance, keep a further engagement within the volunteering initiative.

Moreover, there are several similar endeavours, for instance the German concept "Switch" (Mutz & Korfmacher, 2000), and Swiss campaigns of other organizations, such as "Herzklopfen" by ABB, "Tag der Partnerschaft" by Novartis, or the project of "corporate volunteering" by Caritas. These programs are widely discussed as a promising pillar of "corporate social responsibility". Furthermore, as the section on "SideSwitch" has pointed out, they can be explicitly understood as a crucial concern of "human resource management". Nonetheless, as is the case for all of the current

[6] Drawing on the English translation of "SeitenWechsel" (www.seitenwechsel.ch/English/project.html), this program will be referred to as "SideSwitch" in the following.

[7] Bruner stresses the importance of analysing the "turning points" as "those episodes in which […] the narrator attributes a crucial change or stance […] to a belief, a conviction, a thought" (2001, p. 31).

concepts at work introduced, it is uncertain how the trend will abide in the future and how it can relate to other HR and CSR endeavours. This leads us to some further reflections on the chosen empirical field of the project. They will be rounded off by a first tentative formulation of goal setting and research questions.

2.4 First reflections and tentative problem formulation

Since the different endeavours can obviously refer to radically different contents, targets, and target groups at first glance one might ask why the project aims to bring them all together at this point. Certainly, one can argue that some of the concepts analysed actually have little or nothing in common. At best, it might be assumed that they co-exist peacefully and do not compete. These doubts are certainly not unfounded: Is it really sensible or even possible to tackle diverse health care services such as massage and intercultural communication simultaneously? Can a serious academic approach mix gender policies and tennis courts, volunteering days and pension fund claims? Indeed, is such an approach able to keep track of this complicated subject? Or does it inevitably reveal a precarious lack of structure?

However, the project shows an acute awareness of this broad perspective. In fact, this perspective forms the crucial point of departure. In doing so, it aims to take up some pressing challenges that each of the HR and CSR concepts prove to be faced with. Thus, a first suspicion they often raise is that they might act as well-meant measures that are doomed to failure sooner or later within the busy organizational life. What is celebrated as an “intercultural enrichment”, a “modern life balance”, or a “suitable training of social competences” today, might be rejected in favour of another zeitgeist management endeavour tomorrow. Organizations, in turn, tend to feel overloaded by the large bulk of well-meant “pro-social” requests. While they present themselves as willing to pick up a limited number of main trends, therefore, they continue to stress that they cannot meet each specific demand. After all – according to the common argument – there is a lot for an organization to deal with. As a consequence, there is a growing amount of competing singular concepts, each of them claiming that *this one* is *really* useful and important. Consequently, a hard-fought question turns out to be how much attention can and should be paid to which of the variety of concepts.

Without delving into this discussion, the current project aims to conceive of the concepts analysed as a variety of “social” organizational interventions that are primarily connected to its employees, their interactions and the shape of their (individual as well as organizational) everyday life. Be it with regard to acceptance or non-acceptance, processes of negotiation and intermediation, stagnancy, or sustainability, therefore, the project acts on the assumption that the different concepts face similar underlying questions and challenges. In doing so, an important concern of the project is to overcome the limitations of predefined categories within which the different fields are usually tackled. Instead, it explicitly embeds them within their broader organizational context. Thus, it aims to explore their issues in relation to each other by means of sourcing their organizational sources of sense-making (and thus also concept-making). Acting on the assumption that current HR and CSR concepts are related and overlap in many ways, then, this approach enables pressing questions underlying each of the current measures to be addressed within their role of organizational life. Through taking up the complex nature of these rather disconnected concepts and discussing them against a mutual background, the aim is to combine different fields in management such as “managing diversity”, “human resource management”, or “corporate social responsibility”. Thus, it is no longer a matter of looking into *either* the subject of “diversity” *or* “volunteering”; *either* “health care” *or* “social responsibility”. Instead of taking up and therefore reinforcing the current differentiations, the present project aims to overcome these separating categories, thus clearing the way for new approaches to diversity and differences. Although the different HR and CSR concepts often refer to very different contents, targets, and target groups, therefore, a comprehensive perspective on this variety of terms forms a central concern of the project. Thus, the commonly used terms and categories – such as “managing diversity”, “health care”, “work-life balance”, “corporate volunteering” or “social responsibility” – no longer act as “natural boundaries” of different research subjects. Rather, they are purposely brought together in order to provide an understanding of their underlying processes of concept-making, their role within the organization, their further impact and potential for change. In a nutshell, then, the following question takes centre stage: On what grounds are the introduced HR and CSR implemented, elaborated, neglected, or abolished? In this vein, a first problem formulation becomes shaped. It centres on the question of how the different concepts are constructed and what functions and effects the respective building blocks of these constructions bring with them.

In order to establish the empirical field of the current project, this chapter has shed light on the different contemporary HR and CSR endeavours at work, namely the fields that are commonly referred to as “diversity”, “health care”, and “volunteering”. However, as argued above, the selection could certainly have turned out very differently. Thus, one can object that other (“interesting” or “important”) concepts from the realm of “managing diversity”, “human resource management”, “corporate social responsibility”, “sustainability”, or “new public management” are not taken into consideration enough or even left out again. In a similar manner, the illustration and evaluation of the analysed measures themselves can be called into question.[8] However, as outlined, the different fields aim to represent the variety of current measures. What they certainly have in common is their focus on social topics, on employees, their interactions, and their individual and organizational life. In this vein, the selection stands for a basic premise of the project – the premise that the contemporary HR and CSR concepts can be brought together in a fruitful way: Going beyond current categorizations, questions from virtually *any* of the HR and CSR concepts currently discussed can be connected and treated from a shared point of view. Such an integrative perspective can be accomplished by means of the briefly outlined discursive psychological approach to the processes of concept-making. This very approach, finally, is based on further epistemological and ontological assumptions, which will be introduced and elaborated within the following chapter.

[8] Chapter 4 will take up these methodological considerations.

3 Reality in the making: Epistemological and ontological assumptions

This chapter will elaborate crucial epistemological and ontological assumptions upon which the project is based. As a section on “post-modern” approaches to language and reality, section 3.1 provides a brief historical overview of “linguistic turns” from the 18^{th} century up to the present. Subsequently, section 3.2 further introduces and elaborates the chosen discursive psychological approach. Finally, on this basis, section 3.3 summarizes the main focus of the project, elaborates the goals, and substantiates the research questions.

3.1 Linguistic turn(s) and post-movements: From Hamann to Wittgenstein and Lyotard

Following the so-called crisis of representation of the middle of the last century, the keyword of a “linguistic turn” took shape as a genuine post-modernist expression.[9] In order to stress a vital epistemological and ontological change, different strands can be derived from it. All conceive of themselves as a “post”-movement. They have been referred to as post-Enlightenment, post-positivism, post-foundationalism, post-empiricism, post-structuralism, or, finally, post-modernism.[10] Though often used as a collective term regarding “post” approaches to language and reality, the expression “linguistic turn” proves to be very vague. A decisive role in the range of the term is placed by Richard Rorty’s famous *Essays in Philosophical Method*, which were first published in 1967. Within his *Introduction*, Rorty points out that “philosophical problems are problems which may be solved (or dissolved) either by reforming language, or by understanding more about the language we presently use (Rorty, 1992/ 1967, p. 3). At the same time, he refers to Gustav Bergmann’s reflections on *Logic and*

[9] However – as outlined within the following – linguistic turns have taken place before and can be traced back within a long philosophical tradition.

[10] According to the famous work of Jencks (1991) regarding *The language of post-modern architecture*, the term "postmodernism" was first used in reference to architecture in 1947.

Reality (1964), which provide an important contribution to the nascent linguistic philosophical discussion. Bergmann points out that “talk about the world” means “talking about a suitable language”. In this context, he refers to a “linguistic turn” as “the fundamental gambit” for “ordinary and ideal language philosophers” (Bergmann, 1964, p. 177). As a general contemporary indication of the subject, the following synopsis by Stierstorfer might be helpful. He introduces the “linguistic turn” as

> *eine Reihe von sehr unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen im abendländischen Denken des 20. J[ahr]h[undert]s. Allen gemeinsam ist eine grundlegende Skepsis gegenüber der Vorstellung, Sprache sei ein transparentes Medium zur Erfassung und Kommunikation von Wirklichkeit. Diese Sicht wird durch die Auffassung von Sprache als unhintergehbare Bedingung des Denkens ersetzt. Danach ist alle menschliche Erkenntnis durch Sprache strukturiert; Wirklichkeit jenseits von Sprache ist nicht existent oder zumindest unerreichbar (Stierstorfer, 1998, p. 312).*

In this regard, language is no longer seen as a passive descriptive category, but rather as an active producer. This crucial premise has influenced very different domains, ranging from linguistic philosophy, semiotics, and literary theory to architecture and art, anthropology, constructivist sociology and psychology. As a mutual basis, postmodern approaches start from the assumption “that the proper understanding of societies, social institutions, identities, and even cultures may be viewed as discursively constructed ensembles of texts” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p.137). Though postmodern scholars may draw on very different backgrounds, then, they all prove to share the quest for a rethinking of their different subjects from linguistic philosophical points of view.

Although often placed within the middle of the twentieth century, in a German “Hamann-Herder-Humboldt tradition”, the linguistic turn can be traced back as far as the 18th century (overview: Lafont, 1999). From this point of view, German philosophers are analyzed in terms of their critical objections that linguistic expressions determine reality. Tracing back early lines of anti-Enlightenment throughout the 18th and 19th centuries to the beginning of the 20th century, one might first of all draw on Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), the philosopher and friend of Immanuel Kant. Dealing with the relevance of language throughout his whole work, Hamann acts as an important force in the counter-enlightenment. In this tradition, one can look at subsequent responses and enhancements stemming from further philosophers such as Hamann's friend Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1833), Ernst Cassirer (1847-1945), or Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). With regard to the later 20th century in Europe, important contributions to the "linguistic turn" can be traced to the philosopher of language Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) and John Langshaw Austin (1911-1960), or more recently, Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002), Karl-Otto Apel, or Jürgen Habermas and his *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (1976; 1981). There are different respects in which Wittgenstein and his analysis of "language games" can be conceived of as salient contributions to the development of the "linguistic turn" (Hacker, 1996; McGinn, 1997). Already during his early stage, in which the Austrian philosopher composed his famous *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1984/1921), he tackles crucial interrelationships between reality, language and thought. In this context, he stresses that human beings are never able to step out of their language. Thus, he assumes that language provides the boundaries of reality: „Die Grenzen meiner Sprache sind die Grenzen meiner Welt" (ibid, 5.6). In this vein, language can never be approached for itself but for that which it produces. Within his *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (PU) (2003/1953), Wittgenstein further elaborates this approach to language as a constitutive moment. Having realized that developing an ideal formal language that accurately pictures the world is not merely difficult but is also misleading, he called the endeavours of logical analysis into question. Referring to the context within which language necessarily takes place, Wittgenstein conceives of the attempt to fix the meaning of particular words by linking them referentially to things in the world as a delusive undertaking. Thus, he points out how words function and receive their meanings within the respective available language game. In this vein, Wittgenstein's focus on language games is not merely limited to language itself. Rather, it explicitly includes action in terms of the context within which meaning is accomplished: „Ich werde auch das Ganze: der Sprache und Tätigkeiten, mit denen sie verwoben ist, das Sprachspiel nennen" (PU 7). Therefore, he argued, the term entails the language and the action into which it is woven: „Sich eine Sprache vorstellen heisst, sich eine Lebensform vorstellen" (PU 19). Approaching language in terms of a game, then, further implies considering its context-dependent rules. Thus, Wittgenstein conceives of these rules for the use of language as neither generally right nor wrong, true nor false. Since the meaning of a word arises from the set of currently given rules, rather, the rules are merely useful for the particular language game in which they are applied. According to this, Wittgenstein compares the question of what a word really is to the question of what a chess piece is: „Denn die Frage: was ist eigentlich ein Wort? ist analog der: was ist eine Schachfigur?" (PU 108). Just as the chess piece gains its meaning within the game that accomplishes the network of relations and sets the rules, so too does each word change its meaning against the backdrop of its context. In this vein, words never carry a well-defined general meaning. Rather, they gain their meaning while being used within particular frames of reference: "Die Bedeutung eines Wortes ist sein Gebrauch in der Sprache" (PU 43). In the same way as each person engages within culturally produced and reproduced constellations of language games, so too does each organization (and each society) have its cultural-historical contexts implying particular rules. These very contexts allow actors to associate some elements of language, while dissociating others. In this vein, Wittgenstein points to a wide range of different constellations, a cultural richness of "Sprachspiele", of language games. Conceiving of a fluid and diversified meaning of each word, which can never be fixed, Wittgenstein made a crucial contribution to epistemological and ontological reflections subsequent to the "linguistic turn".

In view of the current project, this approach can help to illustrate how currently popular HR and CSR concepts are conceived of as always "in the making". Their different meanings are always negotiated against the backdrop of specific cultural historical language games. Understanding processes of concept-making, therefore, means locating the particular language tools – i.e. the Wittgensteinian chess pieces – within the game – the respective networks of associated and dissociated meanings.

Against the backdrop of structuralism and post-structuralism (overview: Colebrook, 1999; Moebius, 2003), another important line of thought driving the "linguistic turn" goes back to semiotics and the subsequent (mainly French) post-structuralist developments. Such an approach to the "linguistic turn" centres poststructuralist texts like Jacques Derrida's *De la grammatologie* (1974/1967), Michel Foucault's *Les mots et les choses* (1971/1966), Julia Kristeva's *La révolution du* *langage poétique* (1984/1974), Gilles Deleuze's and Pierre-Félix Guattari's *Mille plateaux* (1987/1980), or Jean-François Lyotard's *La condition postmoderne* (1986/1979).

Prior to this, the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) had marked the semiotics of the 20th century. Thus, within his *Cours de linguistique générale* (1974/1916), Saussure analyses the underlying system of language rather than the language use itself. In this vein, according to Saussure, there are two different kinds of signs. First, he points out a "signified", the thing referred to, which is conceived of as a category or a concept rather than a pre-existing reality. Second, he terms a "signifier", the word to refer to the "signified". In this process, each category gains its meaning in terms of its difference to other categories. In this manner, Saussure conceives of the world as divided up into categories, which, rather arbitrarily, refer to other categories. From this viewpoint, reality is constructed by means of language and the difference between its signs.

Since Saussure's work acts on the assumption that the relationship between signifier and signified – once chosen – becomes fixed once and for all, no space remains for reflections on different contexts and change. In this vein, it became mainly criticised in terms of implications of one-sidedness and stagnancy, and thus throughout the 1960's until the 1980's, structuralism was further developed and modified in a vital manner. Thus, post-structuralism found its way into the human sciences. Stemming from a philosophical backdrop (such as Jean-François Lyotard, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Luce Irigaray), a literary criticism background (such as Roland Barthes), or a psychoanalytic one (Julia Kristeva, Pierre-Félix Guattari, Jaques Lacan), the different thinkers all stress the reality-making function of language. In this way, many different interfaces of poststructuralism and postmodernism can be claimed (Sarup, 1993; Tepe, 1998).[11] The work of Lyotard (1924-1998) in particular is explicitly received within a "poststructuralist" as well as a "postmodern" tradition. In a genuine

[11] A pragmatic division can be sources to the fact that while poststructuralism entails philosophical positions rather than an chorological era, the term postmodernism is used in order to refer to a "postmodern era", a period in the history coming after the modern age.

postmodern spirit, therefore, Lyotard had rejected the modern metanarratives. His texts have consequently been referred to as a crucial milestone towards the end of grand narratives (Browning, 2000).

Removing "modern" notions of grand narratives (including its quasi-objective perspective on reality), Foucault (1972/1969) introduces the term "discourse". Discourses – akin to the Wittgensteinian language game – are understood as accessible within cultural historical contexts, therefore defining the speakers' (i.e., actors') respective constructions of reality. This approach to language as a productive force again stresses the context within which processes of sense-making are inextricably embedded. The following table illustrates the differences between modernism and postmoderism in note form. It is drawn on a comparison by Hassan (1985, 123f.), which has been further modified.

Modernism	**Postmodernism**
grande histoire/ grand narrative	petite histoire/ fragments
paradigm	syntagm
transcendence	immanence
selection	combination
origin, cause	difference
Being	becoming
centering	dispersal
Determinacy/ purpose	indeterminacy/ play
Signified	signifier
description	construction
distance	participation
Hierarchy	equality
hypotaxis	parataxis
type/ mastercode/ genre/ boundary	mutant/ idiolect/ text/ intertext

Table 1: Schematic comparison of modernist and postmodernist keywords drawing on Hassan (1985)

Assuming a “linguistic turn” (or, perhaps more appropriately: several “linguistic turns”), one might summarize that there is a shift towards language as a reality-constituting factor. By questioning the quasi-objective assumption that language can reflect reality, all of the post-approaches act on the assumption that language inheres in performative power. Thus, poststructuralists after Saussure as well as postmodernists have pointed out the importance of these meanings carried by language not as fixed, but always as temporary. From this perspective, framing and interpreting reality can be conceived of as social constructions framed by language.

In this vein, the current project conceives of the different HR and CSR concepts as discursive practices, centring on language as a performing power. Analysing the processes of concept-making, then, it draws upon the outlined “post-modern” assumptions on language and reality that provide a useful epistemological and ontological basis. For instance, giving account of a health care concept is not merely understood simply as a description of an HR concept that is fixed once and for all. Rather, it means participating in culturally and historically produced (Wittgensteinian) language games or (Foucauldian) discourses in very different fields. From this perspective, the meaning of a health care concept is by no means understood as pre-given and fixed. On the contrary, ongoing processes of sense- (i.e. concept-) making keep it always “in the making”, negotiated in the in-between of the actors. The following section further introduces and elaborates the chosen discursive psychological approach.

3.2 Discursive psychological approaches to language, culture and history

Recalling the consequences of the linguistic turn(s), goes without saying that “postmodern” psychological approaches can neither be traced back to one scholar or scientific school nor can they be demonstrated as one definable “grand theory”. Thus, major lines can be seen in terms of answers to the realistic and objectivist epistemology and the traditional accounts of science, language, and truth (i.e., Bruner, 1990; Burr, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; K. J. Gergen, 1994, 1999; Shotter, 1993b). As the previous section has illustrated, it is seen as a central premise that language „is not the simple reflecting mirror belonging to our traditional (Western) humanist philosophy" (Burr, 1995, p. 44). Language, in short, is held responsible for constructing reality. Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) list six points that illustrate how language in social research is no longer viewed of as a simple tool to describe the truth, but rather as a reality-shaping force. They refer to language as (1) „an active, autonomous, and productive mode of expression", (2) „the central object of study in social science", (3) „a rhetorical device for the creation of a credible research text", (4) „the very stuff researchers work and struggle with", (5) „a carrier of power through its ability to order and constitute the social world", and (6) „a vehicle for the potential critical clarification of social issues" (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 142).

Thus, narrative perspectives entail a variety of epistemological and methodological assumptions that call for an examination of the construction, function and effects of language in social life (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001; Bruner, 1990, 1997, 2001; K. J. Gergen, 1994, 1999; K. J. Gergen & Gergen, 1986; Harré, 2001; Harré & Gillett, 1994; McAdams, 1993; Sarbin, 1986).

In this regard, British scholars like Antaki, Billig, Edley, Edwards, Potter and Wetherell (Antaki, 1994; Billig, 1996; Edley, 2001; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996, 2003; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) practice a particular approach called "discursive psychology". Discursive psychologists take on the Foucauldian approach to discourse, further developing and substantiating it in terms of talk and action (cf., Edley, 2001). By conceiving of "talk as action", they share the quest to bring language to the fore and to approach it in its own right (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wood & Kroger, 2000). In this vein, Potter points out:

> *[T]he focus is not on language as an abstract entity [...]. Instead, it is the medium for interaction; analysis of discourse becomes, then, analysis of what people do (Potter, 1997, p. 146).*

In the tradition of the linguistic turn and its focus on a reality-producing language, therefore, discourse analysis centres on linguistic resources upon which people can draw while interacting. By means of a specific discourse use, speakers always negotiate their social world. Similar to the Wittgensteinian language games, these building blocks of conversation can be conceived of as context-dependent language tools of social action. However, within discourse psychological approaches, the terms relating to these language patterns can also differ. Thus, for instance, Billig, Condor, Edwards, Crane, Middleton and Radley (1988) have analysed different “ideologies” and “ideological dilemmas”, Parker (1992) goes for “discourses”, and within their well-known standard work *Discourse and Social Psychology*, Potter and Wetherell (1987) refer to the term “interpretative repertoires”. The latter circumscribe an interpretative repertoire as “a lexicon or register” (ibid., p. 138), as “recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena” (ibid., p. 149). Further, an interpretative repertoire is specified as “constituted through a limited range of terms used in particular stylistic and grammatical constructions”, often “organized around specific metaphors and figures of speech (tropes)” (ibid.).

Looking back, the term “interpretative repertoire” was initially introduced within a sociological analysis of Gilbert and Mulkay (1984). The aim of this salient work was to source different linguistic patterns upon which researchers draw when accounting for error. Gilbert and Murray illustrated how researchers draw on different repertoires according to the respective context. In this light, the actor’s use of the different interpretative repertoires is viewed as potentially oscillating between those sources that respectively allow a consistent argumentation. Different contexts in which the repertoires are used entail a principle of “variability and consistency” (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002; Billig, 1996; Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984; Ostendorp & Nentwich, 2005; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wood & Kroger, 2000). Thus, Antaki, Billig, Edward and Potter stress that “[p]articipants will often draw on a number of different repertoires, flitting between them as they construct the sense of a particular phenomenon, or as they perform different actions” (2002, p. 6). In this sense, consistency is not gained by means of describing a consistent world. Rather, it arises „because different types of accounts are restricted to different kinds of contexts” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 169). Thus, a discourse analysis is by no means aimed at tracing back the “real”, consistent argumentation in terms of the overall truth of reality. By contrast – as for all postmodern approaches – reality is viewed as constructed by its actors. It can never be captured as it "really" exists. Using language or drawing on different discourses or interpretative repertoires produces various different versions of reality. These versions are conceived of as heavily dependent upon the context in which negotiations of reality take place. Thus, by drawing on different interpretative repertoires, people connect themselves with their cultural givens, reproduce or modify them. When people recount something, they are always locating themselves within different subject positions suggested by the contemporarily available repertoires. Regarding these linked processes of "subject positioning", Edley (2001) explains in a nutshell:

> *Subject positions can be defined quite simply as 'locations' within a conversation. They are the identities made relevant by specific ways of talking (Edley, 2001, p. 210).*

Therefore, identities – whether individual or organizational – are always negotiated between different speakers (i.e., actors). Processes of self-making or subject-positioning therefore have two important features: First of all, they can never be tied down to a fixed identity, but are conceived of as fluid, always in the making. They are always in a state of becoming. Second – since sense is negotiated and carried further within the dialogue of several speakers – they always take place *in metaxu*, the in-between. When negotiating sense, then, actors draw on the respective cultural available discourses. In doing so, they confirm and reproduce them or modify them. Thus, communication can be viewed as both "speaking and being-spoken" – as Steyaert and Janssens put it:

> *[W]hen I say something, I am borrowing or re-using a previous utterance. In any statement, a whole history speaks itself and is furthered (Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001, p. 126).*

How a concept is temporarily made always depends on its culturally and historically available repertoires and the way in which speakers avail themselves of these linguistic tools. Reflecting on "SideSwitch" within an interview between an expert and a researcher as co-constructor, for instance, will produce different meanings than a talk between the same expert and – say – a controller of a medium-sized enterprise.

Moreover, the respective construction of a concept is not just understood as dependent upon the interlocutor. Even the processes of concept-making between the very same interlocutors can vary a great deal, due to the respective interpretative repertoires (language games) with which they are currently working (playing). Within these contextual processes, therefore, actors accomplish, modify, reject, or reproduce respective building blocks of sense-making. In this regard, each repertoire carries its specific associated and dissociated assumptions. These assumptions can be conceived of as a cultural historical system of connotations that are linked to the respective language tool. Thus, drawing on a specific interpretative repertoire means situating – or: positioning – oneself within a network of meaning.

When drawing up an overview of current HR and CSR concepts, it can be easily assumed that there is a wide range of (differently elaborated) tools of concept-making. For instance, speakers could give meaning to their current health care concept by means of highlighting HR services such as massage or a gym. In this vein, they would draw on and confirm currently easily available interpretative repertoires of "well-being". Second, they could stress special measures that are geared to particular target groups such as "disabled persons", "foreigners", or "mothers" and avail themselves of respective language tools that are highly manifested – for instance – on the agenda of interest groups. Or, in turn, they could neglect these ascriptions and search for alternative repertoires of concept-making.

Along these lines, psychological approaches, be they discursive, narrative, cultural, or social constructionist in nature, place an emphasis on the role of time and history. This is why Gergen & Gergen (1986), for instance, explicitly talk of a "historical social psychology". From a cultural historical perspective, therefore, identities and their sense-making processes have been emphatically described as dependent on the symbolic system in which they are accomplished, including the respective cultural opportunities and constraints (Bruner, 1990, 2001; Cole, 1996; Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001; Vygotsky, 1986/1934). In this regard, Bruner conceives of a "folk psychology" that is intrinsic to each culture, be it Far Eastern or Western, Antique or modern. The respective "folk psychology" provides the available "set of givens" (Bruner, 2001, p.30). Processes of self-making, then, are discussed against the backdrop of overarching processes of "world-making" (Bruner, 2001; Geertz, 1988).

Conceiving of a reality in the making in view of organizational processes, scholars increasingly refer to an "organization in the making" (Bouwen & Steyaert, 1990). In this spirit, the linguistic turn and its focus on language has finally found its way into organizational research (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Chia, 1995; Hosking, Dachler, & Gergen, 1995; Reed & Anthony, 1992; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001; T. J. Watson, 1995). In this vein, scholars started centring on the processes of sense-making in organizations by means of studying organizational discourses (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Grant, Keenoy, & Oswick, 1998; Heracleous & Hendry, 2000; Keenoy, Marshak, Oswick, & Grant, 2000), conversations (Broekstra, 1998; Ford, 1999; Ford & Ford, 1995; Ford, Ford, & Mc Namara, 2002), metaphors (Grant & Oswick, 1996; Morgan, 1998/1986), narratives or storytelling in organizations (Boje, 1991; Boyce, 1995; Cunliffe, 2002; Czarniawska, 1999; Gabriel, 2000; O'Connor, 1995, 2000; Thachankary, 1992).[12]

Following these epistemological and ontological assumptions, section 3.3 briefly summarises the main premises of the current project, in order to elaborate the goals and substantiate the research questions.

3.3 Focus of the project and research questions

As argued above, organizational concepts of human resource management and corporate social responsibility never simply emerge out of the blue. Rather, speakers give meaning to them by drawing upon the currently available cultural narratives, language games, or interpretative repertoires. Thus, they can be conceived of as negotiated and warranted against their organizational as well as broader societal background.

In this respect, *every* self, or, in this case, concept-making has to be analysed within its range of (corporate cultural and societal) givens that are contemporarily available. While some of these makings may confirm and reproduce traditional or

[12] Concepts of discourse and organizational change will be elaborated within chapter 7.

dominant interpretative repertoires, others may break new ground by drawing upon and giving voice to less well-established alternatives.

Although the organizational concepts introduced are quite popular these days, there prove to be many challenging questions concerning their targets and target groups, their organizational positioning and their further impact on social processes in organizations. Thus, the introduced HR and CSR concepts of the empirical field are brought together and approached both as interesting attempts that consider a variety of different needs while at the same time often lacking reflections on their role within organizational life in general and their interrelatedness to other concepts in particular.

In this vein, a first concern of the project is to understand the processes of concept-making taking place when different speakers give account of the introduced fields of "diversity", "health care", or "volunteering. The project initially aims to analyse currently available interpretative repertoires with which speakers engage when giving meaning to the different HR and CSR concepts.

First of all, then, the following research question takes centre stage: Which interpretative repertoires can be identified that act as current language offers in order to give meaning to an HR or CSR concept? Second, the project focuses on the different functions and effects of the use of the respective interpretative repertoires. Therefore, it aims to analyse their respective organizational positioning, relevance, and impact on organizations. Rather than merely reinforcing and reproducing the cultural and economic givens, it aims to clear the way for new interrelations (cf., chap. 2). From this perspective, the project asks whether the contemporary concepts entail alternative processes of concept-making that enable organizational change towards diversity and differences. Approaching the introduced concepts as organizational challenges, therefore, it aims to overcome pre-given categories and to discuss their (entangled) potential for change. In doing so, the project aims to explore and give voice to "other" paths towards differences within organizational life. In this vein, another main research question comes to the fore: Do the currently applied concepts entail potential for (individual and organizational) change? And if so, how relates organizational change to individual change? How does it enter the organization and make a difference in the long term as well?

Going beyond the different HR and CSR concepts and establishing their organizational impact and potential for change therefore means addressing “individual” as well as “organizational” or “professional” discursive practices by which the different concepts are produced and reproduced. By means of approaching the topic from an “individual” as well as an “organizational” perspective, furthermore, the project aims at discussing changing “personal” and “organizational” processes of sense-making against a mutual backdrop. In doing so, it resumes its perspective on processes of “self-making”, “concept-making”, and “organization-making” as entangled processes of contemporary sense-making.

Last but not least, the project strives to connect its findings to literature from psychology, organizational theory, and philosophy and to discuss their fruitfulness in terms of similar existing concepts. Thus, a further research question is: Can the findings of the current project be supported by means of already existing assumptions and results from literature concerning questions of “human resource management”, “corporate social responsibility”, or further conceptualizations? And how can these findings contribute to a new integrative perspective on the currently rather isolated concepts?

In order to tackle these questions, the following chapter will introduce the chosen procedure of the project and consider some crucial methodological implications.

4 Procedure and methodological considerations

> *Academic training teaches people to read for gist – which is precisely the wrong spirit for discourse analysis. If you read an article or book the usual goal is to produce a simple, unitary summary, and to ignore the nuance, contradictions and areas of vagueness. However, the discourse analyst is concerned with the detail of passages of discourse, however fragmented and contradictory, and with what is actually said or written, not some general idea that seems to be intended. In ethnomethodological terms, we are so used to ‘repairing the indexicality’ (Garfinkel, 1967) of talk, and reconstructing it in ways that make sense for us, that it is very difficult to throw off this habit. Thus, part of the process is inevitably a critical interrogation of our own presuppositions and our unexamined techniques of sense making (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 168).*

4.1 Procedure

In order to gain an insight into a variety of contemporary constructions in terms of "diversity", "health care", and "volunteering", first of all, a document analysis was conducted. Thus, an enormous amount of written material concerning current human resource and corporate social responsibility measures was gathered from Swiss medium and large-scale enterprises. Focusing on major enterprises showed an increasing amount of promise, since these organizations proved to work with large programs and with widely visible measures.[13] Finally, the data set was gathered from six different Swiss major enterprises from food, pharmaceutical, and industrial sectors as well as (financial) services. In order to protect the anonymity of the interviewees and their organizations, in the following they will be referred to as BIG BIG, COLOSSAL C, GIANT, HUGE, MAJOR ME, and MAMMOTH. The decision to focus on a variety of organizations stems from the requirement to address preferably different concepts applied within different corporate cultural contexts. In this context, the organizational endeavours analysed concern "managing diversity" or "diversity", "alternative working models", "work-life balance", "health and social care services", "corporate volunteering", and the program "SideSwitch" (cf., chap. 2). As pointed out in the previous chapters, this variety of companies and concepts was meant to support the initial quest for overcoming the given categories. Further, the research questions were approached by means of different perspectives. Thus, organizational and professional perspectives on the subject were included as well as individual ones (s. table 2). Therefore, as a first methodological step, the project asked for organizational accounts of the different concepts, namely their presence within brochures and websites. In addition, it approached the different fields by taking up the perspective of so-called "experts" on the subject. Second, it tackled the individual points of view and experiences of employees. By means of this multi-perspective approach, the project was conceived to

[13] In this way, international large concerns in particular are often conceived of as "pioneers". Thus, within a first exploration of the empirical field, large concerns were referred to as "top athletes" who set an example for the "mass sports". For instance, such metaphors were used within a Swiss congress on organizational work-life-compatibility in 2003 or within interviews conducted in the context of a former project on "family friendliness" in organizations (Ostendorp & Nentwich, 2005; Ostendorp, Nentwich, Resch, & Dachler, 2003).

consider a variety of implementations, contexts, and experiences with the selected concepts that different actors bring along.

Thus, step one aimed to gain an insight into the contents and targets of the different concepts. Therefore, perspectives of the organization and of respective "experts" or "representatives" took centre stage. Subsequent to the document analysis, nine problem-centred interviews (Witzel, 1989) regarding current concepts were conducted (cf., appendix A). In this process, in a narrative tradition, the interlocutors were explicitly asked not to think of the interview as a mere question and answer task. All of the interviewees were invited to take their time and to narrate whatever seemed important to them. Step two, in turn, gathered its material from employees of the six different organizations. Thus, a variety of voices were acquired from a configuration of 16 problem-centred interviews (cf., appendix B) with employees whose relations to the subject were as widespread as possible. This implied listening to employees with different age, ethnicity, gender, family background, hierarchical positions, employment contracts, etc. It included employees accessing sports facilities or services from child care to massage, "bordercrossers" who took a sabbatical or work part-time, and participants of workshops and programs ranging from stress management to the week of volunteering introduced above. In order to gain as many contributions as possible to "alternative" (or even: "innovative") interpretative repertoires, therefore, the selection of these interlocutors was guided by two conditions: The first condition was that interlocutors had already made use of any of the areas explored within step one. The second condition asked that they perceived themselves as in a position to talk about changes in their life according to the respective subject.

Within the interviews, the points of contact were narrowly or broadly defined to differing extents: With regard to the perspective of the experts on the concepts, the points of contact consisted in three rather open fields: "diversity", "health care", and "volunteering". In terms of the employees and their experiences, by contrast, these points of contact were substantiated further in order to provide a more concrete, vivid "point of departure". Thus, they explicitly addressed a participation in a special program such as the program "SideSwitch", the use of – for instance – "health care services" or an alternative "work-life arrangement" such as taking a "sabbatical". These different points of contact will act as a further point with which to reflect upon whether the findings feature different interpretative repertoires and different purposes of use according to the perspective being taken up. The following table provides an overview of the procedure.

Perspective	Method	Formal points of contact	Analysis
Organizational appearance / public relations	• Gathering current documents of Swiss large concerns	• Internet presence • Brochures	• Document analysis as an introductory overview
"Professional"	• Conducting 9 problem-centred interviews with experts14	• 3 interviews within the area of health care • 3 interviews within the area of diversity 3 interviews within the area of volunteering, especially concer-ning Side Switch	• Discourse analysis according to Potter & Wetherell (1987)
Individual	• Conducting 16 narrative interviews with employees15	• healthcare services, age, disease (4) • general diversity issues and alter-native working models (job sharing, part-time, telewor-king, sabbatical) (6) • childcare services (1) • SideSwitch(2) volunteering (3)	• Discourse analysis according to Potter & Wetherell (1987)

Table 2: Overview of the procedure

[14] Seven experts were interviewed in view of their function in large companies. Two interlocutors acted as external experts and provided an insight into proceedings within different large companies. In this process, one of *the* internal experts was interviewed by another researcher, though by means of the same guidelines.

[15] Four of these interviews proved to no longer meet the criteria of data selection ex post and thus did not enter the final discourse analysis. Thus, two interlocutors stemmed from a medium-sized enterprise (point of contacts: volunteering/ health care); two others had not taken part in any of the organizational offers (point of contacts: general diversity).

As table 2 summarizes, the analysis of the data material was carried out by means of employing a discursive psychological approach. Drawing upon discourse analysis according to Potter & Wetherell (1987), the analytic approach to language is not only conceived as a suitable tool. As chapter 3 pointed out, it is intimately intertwined with broader epistemological and ontological assumptions. Analysing discourse, therefore, has been introduced as a whole perspective on reality that contains both methodological and conceptual elements. Thus, it focuses on talk and text as social practices within which certain interpretative repertoires are applied and others are left out. The analytic goal, then, is to identify those resources that are drawn on to enable social practices (cf., Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002; Potter, 2003; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In this way, Potter and Wetherell remind us that it is not sufficient to simply identify these different building blocks of conversation in the abstract:

> *We need to know, first, the uses and functions of different repertoires, and second, the problems thrown up by their existence (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 149).*

In this vein, a crucial point of a discourse analytic approach is its quest to grasp interpretative repertoires in terms of toolboxes of social life. Conducting discourse analysis therefore does not centre on the respective users or producers of these linguistic tools. Rather, as indicated in section 3.2, the actors' use of the different repertoires is conceived of as potentially oscillating between different available sources. Therefore, while drawing on the texts of different experts, organizations and their employees, this project is geared towards the produced and reproduced building blocks of conversation and their different consequences (cf. below). It is explicitly *not* about sourcing and scrutinizing particular individual or organizational points of view. In the following, the stages of analysis will be further set out:

After gathering the material, first of all, the interviews were fully transcribed, mainly by the author herself and partly by a graduate assistant. Speaking of transcription, Potter and Wetherell indicate both the importance and difficulty of this – often underestimated and neglected – initial process. They remind us that both transcription and the whole discourse analysis is by no means a passive-descriptive but rather an active, constructive process:

> *A good transcript is essential for a form of analysis which involves repeated readings of sections of data, and the process of transcription itself can be helpful in forcing the transcriber to closely read a body of discourse. […] The idea that transcription is 'simply putting the words down on paper' is very far from reality. Transcription is a constructive and conventional activity (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 165).*

In this sense, the process of transcription called for an extensive and careful treatment. Even those few interviews transcribed by means of the help of an assistant had to be listened to again and again – with struggles as to the vein in which different stresses, pauses, incomprehensible elements, or grammatical peculiarities should be transported etc. Whereas an individual interview took about 60 to 100 minutes, transcribing it averaged a whole day. Perhaps even more so than conducting the interviews themselves, therefore, listening to the recorded material again and again initially guided the transcriber's attention and sensitised to particular topics. In short, the long hours of transcription are not just conceived of as a monotonous task, a descriptive "Fleissarbeit" that merely has to be done before the "real" work can start. Rather, the process of transcription was understood as an actively accomplishing element in its own right within the whole procedure. As such, it provided a comprehensive grasp of the texts, establishing a further access to the main data material of the current project.

Following this foundation, the material was fed into the electronic data processing ATLAS/ti (Kelle, 2000; Muhr, 1991, 1994). In this process, a first coding helped to condense the amounts of data into manageable chunks. Since at this stage, discourse analysis is a matter of producing a body of instances rather than trying to set limits to it (cf., Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 167), the computer-aided coding was conducted as inclusively as possible. In search of capable patterns, the variety of material had to be read and re-read many times over. Since discourse analysis can by no means provide a standardized step-by-step procedure, this is a troublesome and rather exhausting stage of the analysis. It demands a high degree of curiosity and patience in order to avoid overhasty applications and generalizations of particular passages:

> *Often it is only after long hours struggling with the data and many false starts that a systematic pattern emerges. False starts occur as patterns appear, excitement grows, only to find that the pattern postulated leaves too much unaccounted, or results in an equally large file of expression (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 168).*

Similarly, within their *Critique of analytic shortcomings*, Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2002) alert researchers to traps such as under-analysis through taking sides or circular identification. They therefore stress the importance of a careful, inclusive reading and re-reading of the data. Keeping this in mind, within iterative loops, salient features of the data were collected, arranged and re-arranged. By building and re-building clusters of texts, including their rhetorical devices like periphrasis, emphasis, litotes, irony, and metaphor (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001; Gabriel, 2000), different elements were bundled together. Gradually, in so doing, clusters took shape as broader interpretative repertoires. Nevertheless, the emerging patterns of "concept-making resources" still had to be continually discussed and modified in order to circumscribe their central aspects and to avoid circular identifications. Thus, an important criterion was that each interpretative repertoire had to provide consistent patterns, which did not overlap with central terms, descriptions, figures of speech and rhetorical devices of other forthcoming repertoires. Finally, three major interpretative repertoires were gained, which can be seen as current sources of experts' as well as employees' concept-making. In this vein, people can draw on them when talking about crucial aspects like the necessity and acceptance of the different measures, the privacy-business ratio, the extent of initiative and agency, the cost-benefit ratio, challenges and opponents, or sustainability. As the analysis proceeded, finally, they were referred to as 1) *ideal worker luxury*, which encompasses the centre of the system, 2) *minority interests and good deeds*, which struggle on the margins, and as 3) *different voices,* which enter into a dialogue and set out for new trajectories within the overall organization. These findings will be illustrated within chapter 5.

However, identifying the different contemporary interpretative repertoires and their oscillating use constitutes only one part of that which a discourse analysis is striving for (cf., chap. 3). Thus, it can be seen as a first part of the question of interest. A further challenge, however, was to understand the entangled net of meanings within each interpretative repertoire is used, its connecting lines that make an argument work. Therefore, identifying current building blocks of concept-making, can be conceived of as a first approach, a basis from which the (closely related) second phase can be constructed (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wood & Kroger, 2000). This second phase is geared towards scrutinizing further functions and consequences that the respective repertoires entail. Thus, every repertoire has to be analysed in terms of other (associated and dissociated) assumptions that it brings along. In this regard, Potter and Wetherell point to the „basic theoretical thrust of discourse analysis […] that people's talk fulfils many functions and has varying effects" (1987, p. 168). Drawing on those assumptions, Wood and Kroger outline the goal of a discourse analytical process as follows:

> *The overall goal of the analysis is to explain what is being done in the discourse and how this is accomplished, that is, how the discourse is structured or organized to perform various functions and achieve various effects or consequences. It requires the identification and interpretation of patterns in the discourse, that is, of systematic variability or similarity in content and structure, and the formation and checking of claims [...] about functions and effects through a search for evidence in the discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 95).*

In this vein, the second phase of the discourse analysis traced back the patterns by means of which the identified repertoires are organized in order to offer a particular approach to reality. In doing so, this phase of the analyses provided deeper insights into the current possibilities of argumentation. Therefore, it prevents further "analytic shortcomings" such as under-analysis through summarising, through over-quotation or isolated quotation (cf., Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002). With regard to the present project, then, this further phase of the discourse analysis was concerned with embedding the repertoires within broader contexts of argumentation for (or against) each of the current concepts, thus discussing their respective functions and effects. Consequently, the identified repertoires were continuously questioned in terms of what elements they associate or dissociate in view of constructing the role of the respective concept within its corporate cultural context. In this vein, the usage of the three different repertoires and the (often conflicting) shifts between particular sources were especially analysed in view of their potential impact on acceptance and stagnancy, sustainability and organizational change. *Searching for potential for change*, chapter 6 will discuss the respective functions and effects of the different repertoires that locate the analysed HR and CSR concepts *between stagnancy and movement*. Before going into the results, however, the following section aims to reflect upon the presented procedure and to discuss some further methodological aspects.

4.2 Research in the making: Further methodological considerations

At this point, some further methodological notes on the design of the project and a validation of its findings will be carried out in order to reflect upon the project as part of both the analysed "concepts in the making" and "research in the making". First of all, to summarize, a core assumption of the presented project is that it is not just understood as an "objective" description of what organizations and experts mean when talking about current HR and CSR concepts. Rather, "doing research" is viewed as a productive process, a co-constructive contribution to the cultural-historical processes of sense-making. In this vein, every kind of sense-making – be it self-making, concept-making, organization-making, society-making, or research-making – is seen as being subject to constant negotiations taking place in the in-between of different actors, including representatives and PR staff of organizations, employees, researchers and other concerned people and "experts" on the respective fields. Thus, currently existing categorizations by means of which many of the analysed HR and CSR measures have been approached are not seen as "neutral" descriptions. Rather, constructing and referring to one of these rather unconnected categories is seen as ongoing active processes of sense-making that stablize isolated concepts. In this vein, doing research on a singular well-defined HR or CSR program draws on these current categories, reinforces and reproduces them. Or, to put it in Saussurian terms (cf., chap.3): It always co-creates another "signifier" that divides up and categorizes the respective experiences. As a consequence, it uses up "potential spaces" (Steyaert, 2002, 2006; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, 2003/2001) . Keeping this in mind, an important concern of the presented project is to bring a variety of current HR and CSR endeavours together and to analyse them against the backdrop of their potential for change.

However, at some points, striving for a truly open approach proved to be like being caught between a rock and a hard place. Initially, the question of the extent to which the interviews could be conducted in an unrestrictive manner while still keeping track of the core research questions of the project proved to be quite challenging. Potter and Wetherell stress that when gaining material by means of an interview, the researcher is approaching the subject from a completely different point of view than an interview that is aimed at capturing reality as it is:

> *The goal of traditional interviews is to obtain or measure consistency in participants' responses; consistency is valued so highly because it is taken as evidence of a corresponding set of actions or beliefs. If the interview talk is consistent, the argument goes, it must reflect a consistent reality beyond; consistent discourse demonstrates the interviewer has found some genuine phenomena and not biased or distorted responses (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 163).*

In this sense, the design of the interview did not aim to gain "*the* correct, definitive answer" in terms of "*the* overall truth". Rather, it was conceived of as a "participatory performance" (M. M. Gergen & Gergen, 2000, p. 12) in which researchers act as "fellow travellers on the narratives that they encounter rather than collectors of facts" (Gabriel, 2000, p. 141). Therefore, the interviews were meant to be conducted in as unrestrictive a manner as possible, in order to gain vital insight into the different HR and CSR measures and their potential for change. Whereas the organizational and professional perspective was approached by means of a document analysis and problem-centred interviews (cf., section 4.1), conceptualizations of narrative-biographical interviews (Mishler, 1986; Rosenthal, 2003; Rosenthal & Fischer-Rosenthal, 2000) and life story interviews (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; McAdams, 1993; Thisted & Steyaert, 2006) seemed to offer an adequate approach to the individual perspective in the beginning. Thus, initiating the interview in the first place strives to provide an invitation to narrate, an "Öffnung der Buehne" (Hermanns, 2000, p. 363). The resulting narration, then, aims to constitute the main part of the interview. In the ideal case, the narration then flows from the interviewees' feelings that they can take their time and narrate everything that seems important to them. However, such an open approach runs the risk of producing such voluminous amounts of material that the analyst might drown in the heavy floods of text. Furthermore, the interviewees turned out to prefer to stick to a rather problem-centred way of "answering". While some accepted the invitation to vividly narrate their "story" of diversity, health care, or volunteering-related experiences, others tended to fall back on a common question and answer structure. Ultimately, a compromise was required between the epistemologically founded wish to obtain non-directed and open narrations on the one hand, and the pragmatic requirement of guiding the course of the conversation and limiting the amount of text per person on the other hand. While being fully aware of the risk of reproducing the initial category, then, the guide of the interview increasingly focused on the subject that was acting as a formal point of contact. Ultimately, the lines between a "classical" problem-centred interview and a narrative-episodic one[16] proved to be rather blurred.

Furthermore, like the design of the interview itself, the data sample can also be discussed against the background of "doing research" and co-construction. Although there was an explicit quest to approach very different aspects of HR- and CSR-related concerns, the interviews and the analysis turned out to deal greatly with questions of time, usage of time, and implementations of other working models. This might result from the tradition of my - or should I still hide behind the "neutral" expression: the author's – research background. For instance, previous research was accustomed to focussing on questions of compatibility of paid and unpaid work. Though striving for an open and inclusive approach, the project still ran the risk of occupying the explicitly desired empty spaces by means of an unequal proportion of the analysed contents of the different HR and CSR concepts. Thus, interviewees were likely to elaborate especially on subjects of time and compatibility in the (co-constructive) course of the interview.

[16] Within his research on technical change in everyday life, for instance, Flick tried to gain self-narrations by means of so-called "episodic interviews" (Flick, 1996, 2000).

Moreover, they were likely to recommend further interlocutors who could provide links to these very points of contact.

Second, the project turned out to struggle with further general closure tendencies. For instance, structuring the findings and presenting them within different chapters and subchapters always runs the risk of bringing categories back in through the backdoor in terms of a Deleuzian “overcoding” (Deleuze, 1990/1969; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987/1980).

Finally, the procedure of a discourse analysis itself can be tackled as a methodological (or academic) challenge. Since it proves to be difficult to retrace the exact way in which different interpretative repertoires are gained, it provides a potential target of critique. Keeping this in mind, first of all, the previous section aimed to give detailed account of the procedure.

Moreover, and perhaps even more importantly, these academic doubts might raise the general question of validation. How, one might ask, can a discourse analytic approach defend its claims of a sufficient reliability and validation if it explicitly abandons the goal of depicting reality as it really is? What is at stake, then, is its epistemological and ontological reason. In this vein, potential doubts bring an important (and genuine “postmodern” psychological) premise to the fore (cf., chap. 3), namely the premise of “relevance”. The discourse analysis is not understood as a matter of gaining the “right” and “true” answer to a proposed research question. Rather, it is simply a matter of going beyond the contemporary givens and making a helpful contribution towards change. In this sense, it aims to break through a consistent, prevalent perspective on reality by means of providing a (still fragmented) insight into the variety of possibilities of concept-making. Within his *Invitation to Social Construction*, Gergen (1999) tackles these different perspectives on a “successful” output of research and illustrates a valuation of social analysis from a constructionist perspective:

> *If our world is in a state of often rapid flux, then what we need is not so much the arduous counting of past events, but sensitive and continuous social analysis. Required are the kinds of analysis that enable us to understand what is taking place from multiple standpoints, that will help us to engage in dialogue with others from varied walks of life, and that will sensitize us to a range of possible futures. Most important, social analysis should help to generate vocabularies of understanding that can help us to create our future*

> *together. For the constructionist, the point of social analysis is not, then, to 'get it right' about what is happening to us. Rather, such analysis should enable us to reflect and to create (K. J. Gergen, 1999, p. 195).*

As Gergen stresses the use in creating a future together, Potter and Wetherell (1987, p. 171) refer to a validation of the findings by means of a discourse analysis in terms of "fruitfulness" as the most powerful criterion. From this point of view, the goal of the project can be seen as rather pragmatic. It does not aim at "revealing" the construction of the different HR and CSR measures in terms of an ultimate objective result. Nevertheless, it does not open the floodgates to a mere "anything goes". Rather, it has to warrant its findings in view of the use that they can bring with regard to future understanding of HR and CSR concepts and organizational change:

> *Prevailing discourses are always under implicit threat from alternatives which can dislodge them from their position as 'truth'. In fact you could say that if it were not for this resistance there would be no need to re-affirm constantly the truthfulness of these discourses (Burr, 1995, p. 70).*

In this vein, the present project does not merely strive to re-affirm some main categories and contemporary building blocks of a specific concept-making. Rather, it aims to explore and discuss its range of different sources and possibilities. In this way, it explicitly aims to listen to alternative interpretative repertoires and new connecting lines. Thereby, it can be further discussed in terms of the ways in which potential alternative sources of concept-making can already be referred to as an available "repertoire", since for these alternative building blocks, the focus is meant to be more on the creating of a new source rather than on shared patterns upon which speakers merely draw in a well-rehearsed manner.

The discussion and conclusion of the project will take up and elaborate those methodological considerations. In the first instance, however, the following chapter will present the three different interpretative repertoires strung *between trendy luxury, old conflicts of interests, and new lines of flight*. [17]

5 Between trendy luxury, old conflicts of interests, and new lines of flight: Three interpretative repertoires

In order to gain an insight into the current applications of different HR and CSR constructions, the present project initially aims to gain an understanding of the building blocks of concept-making upon which speakers can draw when giving account of the HR and CSR endeavours introduced above. Within a first phase, then, the discourse analysis was geared towards identifying the respective interpretative repertoires currently available within the selected companies. Indeed, this process – to draw on the citation of Potter and Wetherell provided above – proved to take a very long time, involving a great deal of struggling with the data and many false starts until the systematic pattern emerged.

Reading and re-reading the masses of text, several issues proved to be particularly noteworthy from the outset. Since they were constantly addressed, they could be referred to as leitmotifs of the texts on current human resource and social responsibility endeavours. For instance, the interviewees reflect on subjects such as "courage", "support", and "agency", and draw on the "cost-benefit ratio". However, since such crucial issues emerge in various ways right across all the different texts, it seemed necessary to go further and to ask about the contexts within which people talk about them. Thus, one and the same issue proved to be tackled against very different backgrounds. For instance, agency of employees was focused upon on the one hand as the crucial way to put a general idea forward, while on the other hand it was required in order to grant some particular benefits. Further, some elements of the texts constructed human resource and social responsibility concepts as an important premise for the

[17] The term "lines of flight" is drawn from Deleuze and Guattari (1987/1980). It will be elaborated within chap. 7.2.

future, while others were already forecasting the end of the fair-weather luxury. Some stuck carefully to the composition of a well categorised concept, while others began by speaking of a concept and its targets and went on to connect them to further approaches. Within some passages, the interviewees spoke very enthusiastically about their different projects and visions. However, they then shifted to a regretful description of the non-acceptance of the endeavours, followed by a resigned account of the reasons for this. It was possible to discern uncertainties and doubts as well as strong beliefs in terms of pure economic goals and different moral and ethical points of view. Within some passages, the interviewees fully committed themselves to their company, while at other points they positioned themselves against the organization and developed a considerable extent of fighting spirit. And, finally, some of the texts where constructed just independent of what can be called the centre of the system.[18]

Gradually, three different collections of text came to the fore. First, it was possible to discern elements featuring systematic links that seemed to arise from an economic core and its currently standard images of an "ideal" workforce. What all of these elements had in common was that they did not make an effort to step out of their routine. They consistently stuck to the perspective of the dominant centre. The first repertoire can therefore be conceived of as a source that centres on images of "ideal workers" and their dominant power relations. Here, tropes in terms of efficiency, adaptability, being, and conserving turned out to be crucial linguistic tools. Second, coherent elements of leaving the core business and claiming one's interests or needs on the fringes of the company were identified. Here, the focus is condensed onto images of "minorities" as "oppressed groups" and their counterparts as "oppressors", as well as onto integrated personalities and charity, conflicts of interests, and exhausting struggles. The third concentration that finally took shape was not connected to the centre of the system at all and did not target a special group. Rather, it left those categories behind, shifting from being to becoming. Thereby, it aimed at entering into a dialogue with a variety of voices. As much as those movements differed, they all proved to strive for a dialogue, which addresses virtually everybody, and to provide space for new

[18] The expression "centre of the system" is connected to the first repertoire and its dominant images of a homogenous, "ideal" workforce (cf. chap. 5.1).

trajectories. The following sections will introduce the three repertoires in terms of *ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization* (5.1), *interests of minorities on the margins of the organization* (5.2), and *different voices within the overall organization* (5.3). In this process, each section will be subdivided into three further sections. These subsections arose from the attempt to compose the findings by means of their main aspects. The first subsections – *addressing the centre* (5.1.1), *addressing the margins* (5.2.1), and, finally, *addressing virtually everybody* (5.3.1) – provide findings concerning contents and target groups. Likewise, the second – *on business affairs and privacy* (5.1.2), *on hearts of gold and good deeds on the margins* (5.2.2), and on *entering into dialogue* (5.3.2) – as well as the third subsections – *on return of investment* (5.1.3), *on rankings and conflicts of interests* (5.2.3), and *on becoming other* (5.3.3) – accentuate both the central compositions of the different language sources of concept-making and their main criteria of delimitation from one another.

5.1 Interpretative repertoire I: Ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization

5.1.1 Addressing the centre: On images of a strong and healthy workforce

To begin with, there is the interpretative repertoire that addresses the so-called "ideal worker". This term draws on a tradition mainly discussed within a critical perspective on gender in organizations (cf., chap. 7.1). In view of Acker's theory of gendered organization (Acker, 1990, 1992a, 1992b), one can assume that the purported "neutral" qualities in terms of economical door openers are conceived of as masculine. Approaching images of "ideal workers" from this angle, gender marks the supporting pillar. Still, it is important to note that such an image is never a static one. What is conceived of as an "ideal worker" and what not, in either case, depends upon the context; first, on cultural historical developments in general, second on respective positions and business contexts in particular. While drawing on "general" connotations of *the* "ideal worker", therefore, one has to be aware of the backdrop against which these images are constructed. Based on context, notions of what constitutes an "ideal employee" can take very different shapes. With regard to target groups of HR and CSR endeavours, in any case, one can easily assume further ascriptions to current images of the "ideal workforce" and its "counterpart". Thus, research on diversity has a variety of available attributes (cf., chap. 2), which can be referred to in virtually any combination. Current images of an "ideal worker" in Swiss large-scale enterprises might be of a prosperous, well-educated, young, healthy, white, heterosexual male, stemming from Switzerland while still having intercultural experience. Either single or supported by a caring wife, he performs in a goal-oriented manner and always with the interests of his company at heart. In this vein, one might discuss a shifting relevance towards mobility, stressing the image of the young and prosperous single person as the future "ideal worker". Be that as it may, a salient point is that notions of an "ideal worker" are modelled to what can be called the current cultural norms. Therefore, images of "ideal workers" are products of organizational as well as societal negotiations, which can differ a great deal. Once again, they are always in the making. What they have in common, however, is their orientation to the cultural given norms. "Ideal workers" are therefore not just conceived of as persons who are devoted to their organization. Rather, they define the "centre" of the organization and thus hold positions of influence. In this spirit, they are referred to as, for instance, independent, results-oriented, rational and competitive. Similarly, they are likely to fulfil challenging and well-paid tasks. Corresponding to the image of a strong, functioning workforce, moreover, "ideal workers" are not supposed to admit to any kind of "weakness":

> *Ich denke, wenn Leute ein Sabbatical für sich in Anspruch nehmen oder ein Time Out, sie bei sich schon irgendwie spüren, halt, so möchte ich nicht, dass es weiter geht, ich möchte korrigieren. Aber [dass sie] nicht in diesem Moment sagen würden, ich möchte reduzieren, weil dieses Signal oder die Reduktion immer noch in den Köpfen der Leute als Schwäche konnotiert ist.[…] Und wenn man das spürt, jetzt gerät etwas aus dem Gleichgewicht, dann möchte man sich erst recht nicht noch schwächen, indem man auf sich aufmerksam macht und sagt, ich möchte nur noch 80 %[…]. [D]as geschieht, aber selten, sehr selten. Ich habe es wenig erlebt, zwei, dreimal. Weil die meisten dann wirklich zurückkommen und IM GEGENTEIL voller Tatendrang beweisen möchten, ‚AHHH, WAS das halbe Jahr jetzt GEBRACHT hat, toll, meine Firma, jetzt bin ich wieder voll da!' (Interview 15, 143-159).*

Making use of an HR or CSR offer such as, in this case, taking a sabbatical, is classified as a confession of not being able to meet the organizational demands. Within the cultural standards, different working arrangements are simply not made. If a person deviates from what is conceived of as a 100 percent job, he or she is admitting to a personal failure. Aiming for a change, then, amounts to loosing one's organizational position as an "ideal worker". Changing the working model and, for instance, reducing working hours, is therefore always conceived of as a second-rate solution:

> *Und ich denke, gerade bei den Frauen, die machen eher solche Arbeitszeitreduktionen als die Männer, weil das ist doch sehr einschneidend. Also, darum versuchen wir schon zuerst, eine andere Lösung zu finden. Genauer gesagt, wenn jemand zu uns kommt und sagt, er sei überlastet, er fühle sich nicht wohl, er könne nicht mehr schlafen, der Blutdruck sei schlecht etc., er möchte das Arbeitspensum reduzieren, also dann wird er zuerst von uns medizinisch abgeklärt (Interview 17, 81-87).*

If the "ideal worker" confesses any kind of "failing", then it is seen as a curable "disorder". Thus, health care and diversity experts point out that people do not broach mental issues, but at most only complain about minor physical symptoms:

> *[I]nteressanterweise geht kaum jemand hin und sagt: Ich bin gestresst. Sondern sie gehen hin und sagen: Ich habe immer so Bauchweh oder ich schlafe so schlecht und so (Interview 16, 513-515).*

In this sense, one health care expert refers to the typical symptoms that can be easily answered without challenging the image of the "ideal worker" – for example by means of massage:

> *Also in der Regel kommen die Mitarbeiter nicht zu uns bei einem psychischen Problem direkt mit dem Problem auf uns zu, sondern sie kommen wegen irgendwelchen medizinischen Beschwerden, sei es Blutdruck, Kopfschmerzen, Schlaflosigkeit etc. (Interview 17, 24-27).*

In this vein, employees turn out to have fundamental reservations when it comes to talking about any kind of "vulnerability":

> *Ich denke, es braucht immer auch einen nicht einfachen Schritt, irgendetwas zuzugeben. Eine Schwäche, oder was auch immer. […] Weil es ist heute in der Privatwirtschaft schon so, das Ausgebranntsein gibt man nicht gerne zu. Also es könnte ja auch als*

Überforderung, Selbstüberschätzung und so weiter ausgelegt werden (Interview 17, 126-133).

Within one of the interviews, for instance, a successful manager who suffers from a disease called "Menière"[19], gives an account of his initial fear of "giving himself away". He points out that in the beginning he had desperately tried to ignore „das komplette Ausmass, das sich da eigentlich auftut, wenn jemand […] völlig von Null anfangen muss" (Interview 12, 116-118):

> *Es ist ja schon schwer genug, es überhaupt sich selbst einzugestehen, oder erst recht es gegenüber anderen zuzugeben. Es ist ja nach wie vor so, dass muss man ganz klar sehen, dass man sich da eine Blösse gibt. Du bist ja schwach, wenn du nicht genug leisten kannst. Und wenn du zu schwach bist, dann bist du fehl am Platz. Punkt. Nächster (Interview 12, 381-385).*

Reflections on health and well-being, then, focus on fitness and strength, rather than on stress and burn-out. For an "ideal worker", these latter issues are off-limits. However, there proves to be an accepted way of dealing with those subjects. Referring to transitory physical symptoms allows "ideal workers" to keep their status:

> *Aber wenn es gesundheitlich ist, ist es immer akzeptiert. Also nein, wenn es organisch-gesundheitlich ist, dann ist es immer akzeptiert. Wehe, du kommst mit psychischen Problemen. Und deshalb schieben sie halt gewisse Sachen in den Vordergrund (Interview 18, 204-207).*

Further, not moaning about stress while coping with one's minor physical ailments might even be seen as heroic. Employees who are able to bear their pain while consistently keeping up with their duties demonstrate a strong commitment and a distinct will to stay the course. Accepted healthcare concepts against the backdrop of the "ideal worker repertoire", then, are conceived of as either additional services in the context of sporting performance and common health and fitness trends or insignificant corrections of minor physical aches and pains. Though there proves to be a very high standard of healthcare services already, organizations still seem to raise the bar in this regard:

---

19 According to Menière's Disease Information Centre, Menière's disease (German: morbus menière) typically entails the following four symptoms: Fluctuating hearing loss, fluctuating rotational vertigo, fluctuating tinnitus, fluctuating aural fullness (cf., www.menieresinfo.com/start.html).

Wir haben intern Angebote von Ernährungsberatung über Rückenturnen, Stressbewältigung, Bewegung. Es hat heute bald an jedem Standort einen Kraftraum, wo man sich fit halten kann (Interview 17, 104-107).

When it comes to qualifying for this trend, each company outbids the other:

Wir haben Fitnessangebote hier unten und wir haben mobile Massagen, wo alle einfach eine Viertelstunde ohne Anmeldung nach unten gehen können, schauen können, wann hat er heute noch Zeit für eine Rückenmassage. Also, wir machen viel. - Seeüberquerungen, […] Marathonläufe […], Inhouse Vereine, Ruderclub (Interview 15, 65-70).

In this sense, for instance, a sporting "young potential" stresses how much he appreciates the different healthcare offers:

Zum Beispiel komme ich jetzt morgens auch meistens mit dem Bike […]. Also nicht, dass das jetzt so wahnsinnig viel Training wäre, aber […] wenn ich es einrichten kann, dass ich früher aufstehe, dann bau ich das aus, so dass ich morgens schon ein Pensum zurücklegen kann. Das sind die Basics. Und dann bin ich natürlich froh, wenn ich in der Firma ankomme und mich da duschen kann, das ist natürlich ganz wichtig. Weil das wäre ja sonst gar nicht möglich, wenn man da verschwitzt ankommt und dann einen wichtigen Termin hat, das ginge ja schon mal gar nicht. - - - Das ist so etwas (Interview 10, 150-165).

Thus, this employee makes use of the different healthcare services precisely within the illustrated manner of well-being. While talking about his sporting activities, moreover, he proves to be very ambitious. Thus, he refers to another important element of the dominant centre and its competitive "ideal workforce". While giving account of his activities, he conceives of his sporting performance in a very goal-oriented and highly competitive manner. In so doing, he draws on metaphors from the area of challenge, fight, and honour:

[I]ch bin sehr ehrgeizig, so würde ich mich durchaus bezeichnen, das hat sicherlich auch etwas mit dem Wettkampfgedanken zu tun, und GANZ GENAU das hat mich eigentlich schon immer gereizt, diese Herausforderung. Und auch das, das ist ja etwas ganz Wichtiges, was dazu gehört, auf ein Ziel hin zu trainieren, gerade bei Wettkämpfen

[…]. Da braucht es eine gute Vorbereitung, aber man muss ja auch mental – ich sag jetzt mal - knallhart sein (Interview 10, 25-40).

Finally, he mentions a colleague who trains regularly on his racing bike and takes part in races. While underlining that this person "eigentlich immer ganz ehrgeizige Ziele da hat" (Interview 10, 124f.), he explains:

Er selbst kommt fast immer mit dem Bike in die Firma. Und das war dann wieder so, dass mich auch der Ehrgeiz gepackt hat. Da wollte ich dann auch zeigen, was ich drauf habe, sportlich gesehen. Nicht, dass der mich da blamiert und einfach so ruck-zuck am ersten Berg abhängt [laughter][…].[F]ür mich war das so der Auslöser, dass ich da irgendwie auch wieder angefangen hab, ernsthafter zu trainieren und mich wieder um meinen Sport und eben auch um die Gesundheit zu kümmern (Interview 10, 142-150).

According to the principle that "ideal workers" preserve efficiency and fitness for the company, health care measures constructed against the backdrop of the first repertoire can foster these endeavours, warranting a smooth workflow. Thus, one of the healthcare experts speaks of an enormous "boom" with regard to organizational measures such as offering massage:

[H]ier in den grossen Zentren […] wird über Mittag Massage anboten, das ist ein riesiger ‚Run'. Das wird von den Mitarbeitern extrem registriert. […] Ich denke, heute gerade bei der vielen Bildschirmarbeit, da gibt es viele Verkrampfungen, Kopfschmerzen und so etwas, und ich denke das ist etwas, wo natürlich die Mitarbeiter auch die Wahl haben, möchte ich diese Kopfschmerzen, oder kann ich prophylaktisch etwas dagegen tun. […] Der Anteil, wirklich, der ist RIESENgross. Man könnte das wahrscheinlich fünf Tage in der Woche von morgens acht bis 17 Uhr anbieten, die wären immer ausgelastet (Interview 17, 198-222).

Further, it is interesting to establish how the expert accounts for this popularity. First, he refers to the fact that the company subsidizes the offer generously. Second, he emphasises the time factor and points to a huge advantage in the short duration and – as he puts it – the "legality" of the measure:

[E]s findet über Mittag statt, also für den Mitarbeiter absolut legal. Also vom Arbeitsplatz wegzugehen, zur Massage gehen, etwas essen gehen (Interview 17, 218-220).

By means of the source of the "ideal worker repertoire", then, a healthcare service like massage can never be conceived of as a flexible break as and when required. Making use of the measure outside of the lunch hour can by no means be "legalized":

> *DAS wäre natürlich dann für den Vorgesetzten irgendwann ein Problem, wenn ihm die Leute dauernd weglaufen, auch wenn es nur für eine halbe Stunde ist, aber sie sind doch weg. Und da wäre[n] auch die […] Mitarbeiter nicht so zufrieden, würde ich jetzt mal so sagen, die hätten dann wahrscheinlich ein schlechtes Gewissen. Ausser es würde vollständig legalisiert, das man sagt, okay, jeder Mitarbeiter darf während der Arbeitszeit von acht Uhr bis soundso gehen, aber ich denke, das würde dann ein Chaos (Interview 17, 222-230).*

Against the backdrop of the first interpretative repertoire, only those services can be accepted that do not interfere with the current standard conceptions of a 100 percent job. Like other health care, volunteering, or diversity measures that are modelled on the "ideal worker repertoire", offering a quick massage over lunchtime is supposed to woo and conserve the "ideal workforce". Likewise, the sporting "young potential" states:

> *Aber gerade in der Mittagspause […], dass man sich sozusagen aktiv erholt. Klar, von der Zeit her ist das eng. Wenn man da biken wollte, das ist schon aufwendig, aber vielleicht, dass man eine Runde joggt, den Kopf lüftet. Oder eben, das man gleich morgens mit dem Bike kommt. Solche Dinge. Das tangiert ja nicht wirklich das Geschäft (Interview 10, 277-283).*

In this vein, a concept-making drawn from the first repertoire proves to be vital to maintain the contemporary "ideal workforce". Justifications of the different endeavours are by no means aimed at leaving the centre, slowing down and listening to other voices. Quite the contrary, they exclusively concern (a dichotomously conceived) business and take place in the heart of the centre. Otherness simply does not exist. Thus, the "ideal worker repertoire" entails a conglomerate of language tools that provide a homogeneous voice of an organization. Rather than encouraging centrifugal forces, it conserves and reproduces the centre of the system and its current power relations.

Nonetheless, memberships of dominant groups are always at stake. In this light, this section has already referred to employees' endeavours to conceal potential "deviations" from the standard. Employees with the right basic qualities have to plausibly prove their willingness to perform at 100 percent without personal constraint. However, if it then emerges that they do not – or cease to – manage to hide any shortcomings, they no longer fit the profile of an "ideal workforce". As a consequence, they loose their social power positions. This – incidentally – marks the very moment when they turn into a member of a special "minority group" (cf., chap. 5.2). For instance, take the former "ideal employee" introduced above who suffers from Menière's disease. In the interview concerning healthcare constructions, he gives account of his long path from "ideal worker" to "minority" to "pioneer", expressing the initial fear of "giving himself away". After illustrating his first Menière attack, he emphasizes his struggle with the old rat race and new demands:

> *Ich war ziemlich schnell wieder drin in der Tretmühle und hab alle Bedenken hinten angestellt. Oder versucht, hinten anzustellen. Weil, die Angst vor dem Schwindel, die war ja nicht weg. Und bereits nach zwei oder drei Wochen […] kam dann die nächste Attacke. Wieder mit Erbrechen und allem. Und das war dann auch der Moment, wo ich wusste, ich MUSS was tun […]. Und ich hab ganz klar gespürt, ‚wenn du jetzt nichts machst, dann bist du einfach nur noch selber schuld' (Interview 12, 250-258).*

Modelled on the "ideal worker repertoire", he worked hard at covering up his "failure" in terms of his "deviations" from the norm. Thus, while giving account of the new challenges, he reveals a desperate adherence to his self-making as an "ideal employee":

> *[D]a geht es dann eben um Selbstakzeptanz, aktive Stressbewältigung. GANZ zentrale Dinge, wenn Sie mich fragen, GANZ zentral, jetzt nicht nur anlässlich von Schwindelattacken. Gut, bei mir, das muss man schon ganz klar sagen, ich hätte so etwas da zu dem Zeitpunkt ja auch gar nicht hören WOLLEN. Ich WOLLTE ja hören: ‚Hier, nehmen Sie das, und dann ist es wieder gut.' Nur nicht nachdenken darüber. Bei mir ging es dann auch eine ganze Weile so weiter mit der Vogelstraustechnik, also rückblickend nenn ich das jetzt so, Kopf in den Sand und weitergemacht wie bisher, der Job war nach wie vor das Wichtigste, alles andere musste hinten anstehen, eben auch die eigene Gesundheit, körperlich wie psychisch (Interview 12, 124-133).*

In terms of the first repertoire, “ideal workers” deny any kind of “weakness”. In so doing, they stick to the dichotomy of business on the one hand and private matters on the other. If something “private” happens to enter the company, then it is strictly kept apart from the core business and its matters of urgency:

> *Bei der Arbeit, da merke ich es wirklich so bei einigen Kollegen, dass es ein brisantes Thema ist. Auf der einen Seite wird viel davon geredet, diese ganz Work-Life-Balance-Geschichten, und auf der anderen Seite zählt einfach das Geschäft […], da muss es klappen. Alles andere ist zweitrangig. Das ist wahrscheinlich auch der Grund, warum ich da mit meinem Chef gar nicht gerne drüber rede, über dieses Bedürfnis, einen Gang runter zu schalten. Da kann dir eine Ehefrau oder ein Hals-, Nasen- Ohrenarzt oder ein Psychotherapeut noch so viel sagen WIE wichtig das für dich ist und WIE leichtsinnig du handelst, wenn du das alles ignorierst, aber im Geschäft, das ist wie eine andere Welt. Da bleibt einfach dieses Gefühl, den anderen - ich kann es jetzt nicht anders sagen – den anderen in den Rücken zu fallen. Da willst du dann doch zeigen, klar, ich kenne das oberste Ziel, ich hab mich dem auch verschrieben, ich mach da jetzt nicht einfach schlapp. Das ist schon paradox (Interview 12, 308-322).*

Even if “ideal workers” are aware of serious physical warning signs, the company is perceived as a working zone that has to be spared from such issues. Giving voice to a “personal problem” hinders a smooth course of business. From this perspective, as is the case with making use of a massage outside of the lunch hour, voicing an illness is viewed as being “disloyal”.

5.1.2 The dichotomy of “work” and “life”: On business affairs and privacy

The careful distinction between “work” and “life” constitutes a crucial feature of the first repertoire. From this point of view, the sporting “young potential” introduced above points out that one area has nothing to do with the other:

> *[D]as ist ja auch ganz wichtig, dass man das noch irgendwie trennen kann, das eine ist privat, das andere ist der Job (Interview 10, 306-308).*

Here, the dichotomy is taken for granted. In this vein, another volunteering expert states critically:

Viele gehen schon davon aus [...] dass es eine strikte Trennung gibt von Arbeit und von Privatem. Das Private hat keinen Platz (Interview 21, 110-113).

Many processes of (individual as well as organizational) sense-making therefore prove to derive from this dichotomy between personal and work life. Of course, there is not merely one interpretative repertoire by means of which the whole concept-making is covered. Nonetheless, several interviews show a strong orientation to the "ideal employee repertoire" and its inherent work-life dichotomy. In view of gendered organizations, therefore, many interviewees refer to an understanding of traditionally gendered division of labour. Take, for instance, the story of the young father who started using childcare services of his company. He creates the spheres of privacy on the one hand and business on the other as strictly divided spaces:

Das eine ist eben mein Job, und da bin ich 100, 150% da, und das andere ist eben meine Familie. Insofern hat das eine einfach nichts mit dem anderen zu tun (Interview 4, ,125-127).

Drawing on these dichotomies, the interviewee considers himself in charge of his family's complete financial security. Therefore, his strong consistency at work and ability to prove himself also serves as existential security for his family:

[I]ch bringe ja schliesslich auch das Geld nach Hause. Ohne mein Einkommen könnten wir uns unseren Standard zu Hause ja gar nicht leisten. Uns geht es schon sehr gut, das ist schon so. Und das kommt ja nicht von nichts, oder? (Interview 4, 54-57).

His responsibility within his family is clearly linked to his job. Correspondingly, he takes for granted that his wife's task, in turn, is to support his career and to take care of the "private affairs" in general and parenting in particular:

Mir war es eben wichtig, dass jemand da ist für ihn [his son], dass die Mutter zuhause ist. Ich denke einfach, die Kinder brauchen das (Interview 4, 30-32).

As is also the case with several other interviewees, therefore, this male breadwinner implicitly ascribes the "division of labour, responsibility, and space" (Ostendorp & Nentwich, 2005) to gender. It becomes clear that he bases his self-making on the image of the "ideal worker". Therefore, while arguing from the centre of the system, the interviewee emphasises how he struggled with the perceptions and claims of his "modern" wife (Interview 4, 49). He stresses that he was and still is afflicted by doubts. While narrating the story of being a caring father and husband, therefore, he is still expressing the faint feeling that this arrangement is serving purposes of an egoistic self-realization of his wife:

> *[I]ch dachte schon oft, jetzt muss das Kind da weinen und das alles nur, weil seine Mutter denkt, sie muss unbedingt arbeiten, obwohl sie ja eben gar nicht müsste (Interview 4, 70-73).*

Without a doubt, the dichotomy between personal life and business life is conceived of as a matter of course and the respective acceptance of responsibility is affiliated to gender. In this vein, moreover, the interviewee stresses time and again that he is not actually in need of a childcare arrangement, that he has "das so gesehen nicht nötig mit der Kinderbetreuung" (Interview 4, 57f.). To him, it is a sheer luxury, it is a "Luxus" (BW, 200) that he and his company can afford (for the time being). In this spirit, childcare provides a little scope for personal flexibility and he is willing to make use of it. Through taking his son with him in the morning and picking him up in the evening three times a week, he demonstrates himself to be an "ideal husband" (Simon, 1995) and father. However, at the same time, he feels seriously challenged in his position as responsible breadwinner and "ideal employee":

> *Ich muss am Abend auf die Uhr schauen und mich nach den Zeiten richten. Ich kann nicht einfach meine Arbeit fertig machen so wie es bei mir passt und dann um sieben, acht, neun sagen, so, Feierabend für heute, jetzt fahre ich nach Hause oder auch nicht. Das geht nicht. […] Und vor den Kollegen oder in einem Meeting oder so zu sagen, Leute, ich muss jetzt gehen, mein Sohn wartet in der Kinderkrippe auf mich, das sieht einfach auch blöd aus. Das ist einfach so. Das sollte wirklich nicht zu oft passieren […]. Das sieht nach wie vor nicht gut aus. Das ist schon irgendwie - - unprofessionell (Interview 4, 105-124).*

In this vein, his window of opportunity proves to be exhausted. The interviewee underlines that – indeed – he has reached his limits:

> *[N]och mehr Zeit KANN ich einfach nicht mehr investieren, das ist klar. Weil – das ist ja jetzt schon das absolute Maximum. Das ist für*

mich gerade so das, was noch drin ist – also in dem Sinne, dass das so machbar ist, ohne dass ich eben meine privaten Belange zu sehr auf die Firma abwälze (Interview 4, 250-254).

In terms of the "ideal worker repertoire" and its underlying dichotomy, these limits are conceived of as untouchable. Within the tools of repertoire I, there is no further scope for expansion of the different spheres. The breadwinner – as the "ideal worker" – is fully available for his company, and his wife is still solely responsible for the dichotomously constructed "personal life". He knows that, in the end, she has to fill in the gaps if this well-meant arrangement no longer works:

> *[W]enn man keine Grossmutter hätte oder die Nachbarin oder einfach jemand, der das sonst übernimmt, dann würde das ja überhaupt nicht gehen. Dann müsste die Frau ja ganz zuhause bleiben. Von daher können wir ja wirklich froh sein, dass überhaupt so eine Möglichkeit da ist. - - Wir brauchen ja auch bei alledem noch Zeit fürs Kerngeschäft. Das darf man darüber ja auch nicht ganz vergessen (Interview 4, 211-216).*

In this context, he clearly draws on the divison of labour, responsiblity, and space. Moreover, the personal sphere that is ascribed to his wife becomes expanded in terms of female substitutes: His wife might be further supported by a grandmother or a female neighbour, whereas he needs time for the "Kerngeschäft", the core business. Likewise, another employee, a divorced career woman, states sarcastically:

> *Ich hatte sogar oft das Gefühl, gegen Widerstände ankämpfen zu müssen. Als sei das etwas - wie etwas Widernatürliches gewesen, dass ich eben neben einem sehr erfolgreichen Mann auch meinen eigenen Job wollte. Oder schlimmer noch, nicht nur meinen eigenen Job, eben auch so eine Art, ja schon, doch, Karriere. Da hat eigentlich alles dagegen gesprochen (Interview 2, 282-287).*

In this case, the divide is ascribed to gender. Furthermore, in view of the program "SideSwitch", one of the volunteering experts consistently constructs the program (and the new experiences) against the backdrop of such a division of "working life" on the one hand and "personal life" on the other. Aside from some shifts to the second repertoire (cf., chap. 6), the attention proves to be entirely focused on the centre of the system and its economic logic. In this regard, the person in charge talks about the subject in a very pragmatic, even dissociated manner. Thus, the image of the program as “Schleuse”, a sluice, is striking:

> *[W]ir haben gesamthaft […][X] Manager durchgeschleust (Interview 20, 93f.).*

The expert describes the program as an expensive “pleasant perk”, which is not expected to entail any sustainable effects. This concept-making therefore seems not to be marked by something that is *there* but rather by something that is *not* there. In the following, the expert stresses the fact that subsequent to the program, every participant stays the same:

> *[J]edem ist klar, dass er genau immer noch der gleiche Mensch ist, dass er immer noch genau gleich gestrickt ist (Interview 20, 403-405).*

Once the participants are back and have finished about three hours of analysis, “dann ist das fertig, dann ist dann quasi der Seitenwechsel beendet mit diesem Auswertungsmittag“ (Interview 20, 359f.). Within this concept-making – to put it paradoxically – the change of sides does not change sides. Likewise, from an individual perspective, one of the interviewees draws mainly on the first repertoire and its “work-life dichotomy”. In terms of “SideSwitch”, therefore, the following section will look in greater detail at the story of a particular participant who spent his week of volunteering with disabled people:

While giving account of his vital new experiences, repertoire I turns out to provide most of the building blocks for the interviewee’s sense-making. In this process, the dichotomy between private use and business luxury acts as a leitmotif running throughout his story. Although the manager talks about the impact on his private life very affirmatively, this impact is conceived of as strictly divided from business. Thus – on the one hand – he talks about crucial experiences that he gained by means of his participation. In this light, he first of all emphasizes his initial fear of “the unknown”:

> *Das ist natürlich die grosse Frage, was kommt auf dich zu? […] [I]ch habe gewusst, ich gehe irgendwann am Montag morgen und ich komme erst am Freitag abend. Das ist für mich schon alles stressig gewesen. Weil, das ganze Umfeld ist unbekannt. Ich habe nicht*

gewusst, ja, wie muss ich mich überhaupt verhalten, was erwarten die Leute von mir, was darf ich, was darf ich nicht. Und ich habe auch lang mit meiner Frau darüber diskutiert, das hat mich schon alles beschäftigt. Und sie hat mir immer gesagt, du musst einfach versuchen, dich so verhalten, wie es – ja, einfach normal und nicht irgendwie etwas vorspielen. Okay, so bin ich weggefahren am Montag morgen[…]. Und […] [name of the supervisor] hat mir immer gesagt, ja ich muss einfach den ersten Tag mich umschauen, irgendwie versuchen, den Puls von den Leuten zu nehmen und irgendwie mich so gut wie möglich zu bewegen. Okay, so bin ich gestartet (Interview 7, 95-120).

Subsequently, he starts narrating his experiences and points out his own benefit:

Und so sind meine ersten Erfahrungen gekommen. Und ich habe auch gesehen, das ist nicht einfach. Die Leute sind voll auf mich angewiesen. Das heisst, irgendwie versuchen, die Barriere bezüglich Vertrauen, die Barriere wegnehmen können, damit das Vertrauen langsam kommt und damit die Leute merken, ich bin wirklich für die da. Das heisst, ich profitiere auch sehr viel (Interview 7, 126-131).

He focuses on the striving for independence of the disabled persons as his first learning point (Interview 7, 120-155) and summarizes:

Und das ist bei mir geblieben. Die Leute wollen einfach als in Anführungszeichen als „Normale“ behandelt werden und erwarten auch, wollen auch beweisen, dass sie da gewisse Sachen selber erledigen können. Und das ist wirklich die erste Erfahrung gewesen (Interview 7, 151-155).

The next experience, then, surrounds his reflections on the “time factor”. Here, he provides several examples. Amongst others, he narrates the episode of an older man who regularly faints:

Am Donnerstag Nachmittag sind wir draussen gewesen im Wald […] und plötzlich ist ein älterer Mann - auch im Rollstuhl – […] es ist plötzlich passiert bei ihm, geistig weg[gewesen] […].. Ich habe ihn gefragt, was ist jetzt passiert, ist irgend etwas nicht normal gewesen, und sein Blick so starr und geschaut. Und den [Klaus] habe ich auch in der Nähe gehabt und habe gefragt, was los ist. Und für ihn ist es ganz klar gewesen. Er hat gesagt: ‚Ja, er muss nur warten.’ Ich habe gesagt: ‚Auf was warten?’ - , Ja, das geht vorbei.’ Das haben alle gewusst […]. Das heisst, alle anderen sind überhaupt nicht gestört gewesen, der einzige, der gestört war, nicht gestört, aber schockiert war, bin ich selber gewesen [laughter]. Aber für alle anderen war es

> *als ob es nicht passiert wäre [astonished laughter]. Das ist sein Problem gewesen, und ein anderer hat ein anderes Problem, und so haben sie sich dran gewöhnt (Interview 7, 233-250).*

Following these reflections, he stresses that he now sees “das Ganze mit ein bisschen anderen Augen“ (Interview 7, 337):

> *Ich habe das Gefühl, mein Verhalten, oder meine Augen, meine Augen sind anders geworden. Mein Verhalten ist irgendwie ein bisschen anders (Interview 7, 357-359).*

On the one hand, therefore, it becomes clear that he really appreciates his participation in the program. He narrates a precious experience that he points at as a “turning point”, as an experience that made him become “anders”.[20] On the other hand, since this participation is conceived of as a private matter, these experiences are kept strictly apart from business:

> *Für mich ist es, für meine Familie selber, ist es wahrscheinlich das, wo ich am meisten herausholen konnte aus der ganzen Woche. Weil für das Geschäft ist es, ist es sowieso eine andere Welt. […] Und so funktioniert es, sonst funktioniert es eben nicht. Es sind einfach total andere Prioritäten (Interview 7, 279-290).*

The use of the program, therefore, is constructed “voll auf privater Basis” (Interview 7, 592). As the interlocutor stresses, “das ist persönlich, für mich persönlich” (Interview 7, 784). The “ideal worker” appreciates that his company has enabled him this worthwhile experience. But while this new experience might be useful and has changed him as an individual person, in terms of business, one cannot expect very much:

> *Wenn eine Firma erwartet […], dass durch diese Investitionen, Kosten- oder Zeitinvestitionen die Kaderleute anders werden – ich glaube, das wäre eine Illusion. Vielleicht werden sie unbewusst ein bisschen anders, aber ich glaube nicht. Ich glaube nicht so fest. Wenn die Firma sagt, ‚okay, es ist für den Kandidaten oder die Kandidatin gut, für ihn oder für sie selber’, dann ist es eine sehr gute Investition (Interview 7, 784-791).*

[20] Here, he even draws on crucial elements of repertoire III (cf. chap. 5.3).

Though he regrets being unable to exhibit any profit at the company, he does not expect any further impact on business affairs. Throughout the whole interview, therefore, the manager does not tire of stressing:

> *Aber ER GEHT für sich selber! Ich muss mit seinen Erfahrungen für das Geschäft nicht gross rechnen (Interview 7, 450-452).*

> *„[I]ch bin immer noch überzeugt, das Ganze […] ist für den Kandidat oder die Kandidatin eine Bereicherung, aber nicht für die Firma“ (Interview 7, 600-602).*

Correspondingly, it remains out of the question that he might challenge the dichotomy and give voice to his new experiences within his company. Indeed, he stresses that there is no need to talk about such things within the firm:

> *Ich erzähle davon zum Beispiel auch nichts gross. Vielleicht meinem direkten Vorgesetzten, das ist schon möglich. Heute weiss er, dass wir einmal ein Gespräch haben. Aber mehr Leute sind nicht tangiert[…]. Für mich ist das Programm MDP [Management Development Program] abgeschlossen. Das heisst, alles was danach passiert, ist auf – auf Privatbasis. Es gibt auch keinen grossen Bericht in dem Sinn. Das erzähle ich auch niemandem gross, ausser wenn mich jemand etwas fragt, aber sonst, sonst mache ich es immer für mich, für meine Familie. Ja, ich sage mir immer, das ist eine Investition für sich (Interview 7, 592-611).*

Correspondingly, with regard to the time factor he emphasises:

> *Es hat eine Rolle gespielt, aber jetzt ist alles vorbei […]. Das ist klar, es ist ein anderes Umfeld. Aber das ist wirklich so. Zeit – vielleicht am Samstag, Sonntag (Interview 7, 363-369).*

In this vein, he finally takes stock of the affairs:

> *[E]s ist eine abgeschlossene Phase. Privat ist es noch offen, aber geschäftlich ist Schluss (Interview 7, 774-776).*

These citations might illustrate how repertoire I takes the dichotomy between the private and business world for granted. A program like SideSwitch, then, is conceived of as a solely personal matter. Orientated in line with the “ideal worker source”, the one has nothing to do with the other.

5.1.3 The cost-benefit ratio: On a luxurious subject and return of investment

Taking into consideration the dichotomy of work and personal (as well as societal) life, finally, leads to the question of how relevant the different HR and CSR concepts can become. If they are seen as merely being able to support something “aside” from the core business, the different endeavours become a friendly gesture in terms of personal or societal concerns. In this way, drawing on the first repertoire means constructing the concepts as sheer luxury. Thus, offering a special measure or service is always a matter of what a business can additionally afford. The justification of the existence of a program like “SideSwitch” therefore turns out to be a subject of the cost-benefit ratio:

> *Ja, es ist klar. Es geht immer um return of investment. Und darum wollen die Leute das eben wissen. Ich könnte mir vorstellen, so eine Woche ist nicht unbedingt ganz billig, das ist klar. Die Bank übernimmt alles, auch vom Salär, von der Zeit und alles. Und darum stellt sich immer die Frage: ‚Müssen wir das überhaupt? Bringt das was oder bringt das nichts?' (Interview 7, 412-417).*

It is always a question of “return of investment”. Likewise, the sporting “young potential” explains:

> *Natürlich muss es unter dem Strich wieder rauskommen, es muss sich rechnen. Das ist klar (Interview 10, 276f.).*

From his perspective on healthcare programs, the cost-benefit ratio constitutes the determining factor. The benefit, then, is a healthy and powerful workforce, „in dem Sinne, dass nur in einem gesunden Körper auch ein gesunder Geist steckt“ (Interview 10,190f):

> *[D]iese Power, das ist das, das muss man ja auch sehen, was ja der Firma zugute kommt. Das ist absoluter Profit für ein Unternehmen, wenn man weiss, der Mitarbeiter ist mental und physisch fit. Das, das, da denke ich, das muss man auch ganz klar sehen, das kann man da genau mit hineinrechnen, wenn man sich das als Unternehmen*

> *überlegt, ob man da investieren kann oder nicht (Interview 10, 225-230).*

Correspondingly, the volunteering expert introduced above takes for granted that the "ideal worker" adapts to the tide of economical events:

> *Anfangs war es sicher ein bisschen populärer oder das war die Zeit auch noch ein bisschen besser, wie's dann natürlich dann nachher nicht mehr so war[...]. Es ist natürlich, ja 2001, 2002, -3 sind natürlich schon schwierige Jahre auch für [BIG BIG] gewesen [...]. Viele Mitarbeiter mussten, ja, entlassen werden oder sind auch von selber gegangen --- sind natürlich weniger geworden und da hat sich natürlich jeder mit solchen Programmen auch zurückgehalten (Interview 20, 90-101).*

Still, managers *are* able to change sides. But when it comes to a concrete participation, it turns out that increasingly fewer persons are actually joining the program. Sticking to the resources of repertoire I, the reasons for the low participation are obvious. It becomes clear that the program is constructed as a fair-weather luxury, which is becoming less and less affordable. A progam like "SideSwitch", then, becomes a „Luxusmodul, das man dann wirklich wahrscheinlich eher nutzt oder nutzen sollte in einer guten Zeit" (Interview 20, 102-104). And since times are hard, the trend is nowadays vanishing into thin air:

> *Also, sicher, den Aufwand, den ich [...] vor einem Jahr betrieben habe, werde ich sicher nicht mehr machen[...]. Wir haben Budgetrunde gehabt und dann schaut man natürlich, mit welchem Programm kommt man raus? (Interview 20, 552-563).*

Conceiving of the program as a luxury and subordinating it to the cost-benefit analysis means abandoning it to the best-before date of a trend. Approaching from the centre of the system and calculating costs and benefits, it appears necessary to limit the scope of the endeavour in the future. Thus, in times of need, the expert explains it as only "natural" that the acceptance of the program is sinking. To the interviewee it is clear that in hard times, one can no longer afford to invest a great deal in a luxury like "SideSwitch":

> *Wir werden SeitenWechsel sicher drin haben, aber der Aufwand von Seiten Publikation oder Werbung oder auch im administrativen Teil, der soll sehr, sehr gering gehalten werden. Weil, es ist ein Geben und ein Nehmen und dann fertig. Und ich denke, da muss man einfach schauen, dass nachher der Aufwand nicht höher ist als es schlussendlich kostet (Interview 20, 532-538).*

Therefore, the expert stresses the importance of scrutinizing the cost-benefit ratio thoroughly:

> *[W]enn der Mitarbeiter will und, ja, das Bedürfnis hat das Programm zu machen - - - ist es sicher eine Klärungsfrage, - - auch der Nutzen vom, vom ganzen Programm (Interview 20, 112-114).*

Moreover, she explains "dass die Leute auf mich zukommen und dann kann ich dann natürlich schon so weiter spinnen, und denken, ja wie lange ist der jetzt schon da und wieso will er überhaupt das Programm machen" (Interview 20, 698-700). Thus, the interviewee also has a suspicion that undergoing a "SideSwitch" might be "misused". After all – as she points out – it is "natürlich eine gezahlte Auszeit" (Interview 20, 711). Within this logic, then, the current "ideal worker" seems to be the one who does *not* plan to make use of such a "Luxusmodul". An employee who participates in the program without restraint might therefore be seen as "stabbing the company in the back". Undoubtedly, the "ideal worker" knows what matters and can evaluate such luxurious possibilities as being apart from the core business. Be that as it may, in order to keep the costs down, the person responsible for the program tries to keep the "changes of ends" to a minimum:

> *[D]a appelliere ich dann schon ein bisschen an den menschlichen Verstand und sage, ja, das Geld hätten wir jetzt vielleicht auch anders investieren können. Weil dann sag ich, dann investiert man es doch lieber wirklich in eine andere fundierte Ausbildung, wo er dann hingehen kann (Interview 20, 682-687).*

Indeed, the concern is not with how to win somebody over to participate in the program. Rather, one might argue, it is about how to keep somebody from participating. A participation, then, seems to be the consequence if somebody proves to be so enthusiastic about the program that there is simply no stopping him or her. Therefore, explanations for the decreasing participation are not supposed to stop the downward trend presented and win more people over to step back and move into the margins. On the contrary, from this perspective, there is no need to worry about it at all. In order to provide the "ideal employee" against the backdrop of repertoire I, there is little space for the luxurious program anyway. And since changing ends misses the core business, in uncertain times it does more harm than good.

Drawing on the source of interpretative repertoire I means reinforcing and reproducing the repertoire of the current dominant workforce. The endeavours might therefore be labelled within a variety of human resource and social responsibility constructions – within the first repertoire they all avail of conserving current images of the "ideal worker" and its power relations. Since the "ideal worker" is not in need of the different offers, these endeavours are conceived of as luxury and act as a "sweetener" in better times. Therefore, "ideal workers" are viewed as the ones who can access the measures flexibly. The moment they become seriously dependent on any of these concepts, they become a case for the second repertoire and its politics for minorities. The following section will introduce this interpretative repertoire as *minority interests and good deeds on the margins.*

5.2 Interpretative repertoire II: Minority interests and good deeds on the margins of the organization

5.2.1 Addressing the margins: On deviations from the norm and people in need

First of all, in terms of "managing diversity", there is a tradition of defining the "diverse" workforce (cf., chap. 2). In this spirit, when asked about the contents and target groups, the diversity experts interviewed do not hesitate to list the well-known diversity categories from ethnicity to gender, age to sexual orientation. The following citations might illustrate this approach:

> *[Wir] machen das aber gruppenspezifisch. Wir haben es eben unterteilt. Wir haben [...] Schwule und Lesben [...]. Dann richtet es sich an die Paare mit Kindern, an Eltern mit Betreuungspflichten, aber auch an Mitarbeitende, die Betreuungspflichten haben wie alte*

Eltern, die also ein ganz anderes Thema haben […]. Dann haben wir Singles […]. Wir haben für Alleinerziehende spezifische Angebote gemacht […](Interview 16, 25-43).

Im Wesentlichen orientieren wir uns an der EU Direktive, wo es auch um Diskriminierung geht in der Arbeitswelt von Randgruppen oder Menschen mit gewissen Charakteristika. Wir haben für uns […] Felder definiert, was Diversity bedeutet, […] die sind Kultur, das sind Nationalitäten, Ethnien, Rasse, das ist Gender […] das ist Alter […]. Dann haben wir einen Bereich […], da geht explizit Homosexualität drunter, da gehen aber auch religiöse Ansichten, auch politische Ansichten drunter. Und der [letzte] Bereich […], da geht es also um psychische und physische Möglichkeiten einzelner Menschen (Interview 19, 9-19).

When referring to different categories, therefore, experts avail themselves of keywords such as "Diskriminierung", "Randgruppen", "gruppenspezifisch", or "gewisse[] Charakteristika".[21] Thus, the second interpretative repertoire displays the linguistic kit of "minority interests". First of all, a concept-making modelled on repertoire II addresses those employees who seem to lack the conditions of the "ideal worker". Concerning concepts that can be deemed "social" in terms of employees, it proves to be a very common source of concept- (and thus: sense-)making. This can be traced back to the recognition that outside of the centre of a company, there are people who do not fit the expected health or age concept; that they might be foreign to the country; that they are female, or could have a different sexual orientation; that they have other time-consuming interests or commitments (like – in this case especially – parenting or volunteering) and so on. In this sense, the target groups are seen as those that exist on the fringes of the system. Modelled on repertoire II, they are specified and categorized as typical "minority groups" who often find themselves being discriminated against. In this vein, "managing diversity" becomes struggling against discrimination:

Wir garantieren Chancengleichheit unabhängig von Rasse, Nationalität, Ethnie, Religion, sexueller Orientierung, Alter. Das

[21] Within these citations one can, however, observe a quest for formulations that are as "neutral" as possible. Thus, the target groups are no longer referred to as "women", but as "women *and* men", not as "immigrants or "foreign cultures", but as "ethnicity", not as "older employees", but "age" and so on. While still adhering to the well-known categories, the speakers are anxious to refer to them in an open manner. From this angle, one can alternatively read the quotations against the backdrop of repertoire III (cf. chap. 5.3).

> *versuchen wir umzusetzen. Und wir sind für ein diskriminierungsfreies Arbeitsumfeld zuständig, das ist unsere Kernaufgabe (Interview 16, 4-7).*

From this viewpoint, experts point out typical discrimination issues and conflicts of interests:

> *[W]ir hatten letztens ein Team, die Chefin eine [europäische Nationalität], eine Mitarbeiterin eine [asiatische Nationalität], die nicht deutsch spricht, eine [Person mit Behinderung], eine Mitarbeiterin geschieden […], ein älterer Mann[…] und ein jüngerer, der sehr ambitiös ist und eigentlich fand, er müsste da sein, wo die [Europäerin] ist […]. [D]ie [asiatische] Dame hat sich dann tatsächlich bei uns wegen Diskriminierung gemeldet. Weil sie war in keiner Sektorsitzung, sie hat es nicht verstanden und wurde einfach ausgeschlossen etc. etc. (Interview 16, 897-911).*

Likewise, another expert reflects on conflicts of interests and gives account of a mediation procedure between an older employee and a young pregnant woman in terms of a “classic diversity”:

> *Die beiden haben KATASTROPHALEN Streit […]. Ich bin mit ihnen in einem Mediationsverfahren drin […]. Ich schaue jetzt nach einer verträglichen Lösung, ich werde sie [the pregnant woman] unterstützen, dass sie intern eine Stelle findet nach ihrem Wiedereinstieg […] und muss auch schauen, dass wir der alten Dame, der älteren Dame auch Rechnung tragen. Aber das ist so ein klassisches Diversity – ältere Mitarbeiterin versus junge Mutter im Streit (Interview 14, 266-273).*

In this vein, the endeavours are aimed at supporting those employees who are positioned in the margins. Drawing on the second repertoire, then, entails a construction of the concepts regarding special target groups that are really in need. Within the interviews, therefore, some of the employees explicitly place an emphasis on their neediness:

> *[I]ch bin ja ganz elementar darauf angewiesen. […] [W]enn man eben darauf angewiesen ist, wie jetzt bei mir, da hat man ja keine andere Wahl, da geht es einfach nicht, ohne dass das Unternehmen einem entgegenkommt (Interview 2, 325-330).*

Thus, this employee stresses how vital special perks and policies are for her. Otherwise, she would simply no longer be able to continue her work. The different measures are constructed as emergency steps for singular cases who otherwise would fail or even drop out. With regard to employees who make use of other working-time models, an expert explains:

> *[E]s hat auch etwas, eben NICHT mit diesem Turning Point zu tun. Und ich weiss nicht, ob es den in diesen Softfactissues überhaupt GIBT. Vielleicht bei [denjenigen Personen], die [es] wirklich müssen, mit Kindern und alles irgendwie organisieren, [die] über längere Zeit wissen […], das wird unser Leben sein (Interview 14, 136-141).*

Consequently, such an offer is not conceived of as an enrichment for potentially every worker. Rather, it acts as an "emergency measure" for those who have simply no other choice. If the endeavours are conceived of as emergency measures, moreover, the vital question emerges of whose needs are assessed as most important and urgent. With regard to the "most pressing" target groups, then, accounts modelled on the second repertoire refer to the following issues:

> *[A]us Sicht der Firma ist sicher wichtig, Kulturprojekte, weil wir hier [eine grosse Vielfalt an] Nationen haben […]. Was auch wichtig ist, ist natürlich Gender (Interview 19, 108-110).*

On the one hand, it is argued that in times of "globalization", an increasing number of nations have to work together. On the other hand, experts point at an increasing number of working women. Thereby, it is assumed that these women need special help:

> *Ja, ich denke eben, das ist tolle Arbeit, die da geleistet wird, und das verdient entschieden noch mehr Anerkennung […]. Weil die Frauen, die so was brauchen, das sind ja immer mehr, das wird ja nicht weniger (Interview 2, 319-322).*

In this spirit, an organizational endeavour regarding "diversity" is inevitably associated with gender and the notion of "women in need":

> *Diversity in der Schweiz, und da kommen wir schon [laughter] ein bisschen vom schönen, hehren Thema ab, das ist immer noch mehrheitlich Gender related, immer noch eher Frauenförderung (Interview 16, 9-12).*

An initially open term like “diversity” is therefore replenished with special target groups and their particular interests and needs. Consequently, there is the call for combining together the same interests and “fighting” for them.

Until now, the second repertoire and its target groups have been illustrated in view of the term “diversity”. The following passage, however, asks what the “minorities repertoire” can provide for the contents and targets of health care concepts. First of all, the previous chapter has shown the extent to which health care endeavours are geared to the image of an “ideal worker”. Within the scope of a current general “health and fitness trend”, one can observe increasing reflections on health protection in organizations. Against this backdrop, the addressee is not conceived of as a needy person. On the contrary, as the first repertoire has shown, the new *discourses of well-being* (Sointu, 2005) have affected some luxury health care services for the “ideal worker”. Facilities from gyms to swimming pools are aimed at conserving his or her uninterrupted service. Sticking to these contents, the discussions can be consistently conducted within the linguistic frame of repertoire I, the “ideal worker repertoire”.

The shift to repertoire II, then, can be discerned whenever the discussion deviates from the glamorous fitness arrangements for the “ideal workforce”. Whenever the concern is with a chronically ill person, an older employee, or a person who, say, has had a heart attack, then the image of the “ideal worker” starts to fade. Against the backdrop of repertoire II, the addressee turns into a “minority”, who, for instance, is no longer able to work (that which is constructed as) fulltime. He or she becomes a member of a “problematic” group that is dependent on help. Nevertheless, the proceedings in this case also prove to be well defined. In this context, health (and social) care can mean a pragmatic clarification of facts concerning employability:

> *Das gibt es sehr häufig, einen Herzinfarkt oder was Sie wollen. Da haben wir, denke ich, ein gutes Vorgehen. Also der wird ja zuerst einmal eine Zeitlang arbeitsunfähig sein. Nach einer gewissen Zeit […] nehmen wir mit dem Mitarbeiter Kontakt auf […] und möchten eine wirklich gute, von A bis Z funktionierende medizinische Abklärung[…]. Da gibt es wenige Fälle, da ist die Prognose einfach so, der wird nie mehr 100 Prozent arbeiten können. Dann bleibt dieser Mitarbeiter vorerst normal arbeitsunfähig, und nach etwas acht Monaten nehmen wir noch mal Kontakt mit dem Mitarbeiter auf und lassen noch mal ein Gutachten anfertigen, dann mit Informationen vom Hausarzt, vom Spital, Spezialisten und so weiter, und dann wird*

nochmals entschieden, ob er in Zukunft wird arbeiten können, oder auch in Teilzeit, und wenn das nicht der Fall ist, leiten wir von uns eine vorzeitige Pensionierung aus medizinischen Gründen ein (Interview 17, 143-160).

Within a fixed proceeding for the target group of ill workers, then, the issue of different working time models arises. However, this view of employability does not question the quasi-objective thinking of what is called a "fulltime job", including its presence-thinking and gender-related ascriptions. Rather, it reflects on new working models for a special target group – for those who are in need. Consequently, these topics are discussed in the margins. It is never a concern of the centre. The target state, then, is reached when the marginalized employee has managed to assimilate as well as possible, when his or her clearly definable (and thus fixed) "deviations" can be handled and no longer disrupt the core business. In this manner, in terms of minorities suffering from a stroke, a heart attack and the like, the following option can be discussed:

Es kann so laufen, dass der Hausarzt zum Beispiel einfach schreibt, dieser Mann ist arbeitsunfähig, fertig. Aber in so einem Fall natürlich dann hat der Vorgesetzte - wenn der Mitarbeiter 50 Prozent arbeitsfähig ist - auch eine 50 prozentige Leistung [zu erwarten] […]. Das würde heissen, zum Beispiel kann ein Arzt sagen, okay, dieser Mitarbeiter ist nicht 100 Prozent arbeitsfähig, es wäre gut, wenn er 100 Prozent da wäre, am Arbeitsplatz, aber in diesen 100 Prozent vielleicht nur eine 50 prozentige Leistung erbringen. Solche Vereinbarungen können wir machen (Interview 17, 181-191).

Here, special arrangements provide a generous possibility for specific "problem cases" to cover their shortcomings. Modelled on the "minorities repertoire", therefore, people require compatibility due to a deviation from the norm, such as disability or age. As illustrated above in terms of diversity, the concern is once again with people in need. In this vein, for instance, an older employee who has had a hernia depends on both an ergonomically designed workplace and on the possibility of working half-time. This stresses her dependence on special provisions. Since her employability is at stake, it is essential to her „dass etwas angeboten wird, was eine Erleichterung ist oder was er überhaupt erst möglich macht, dass man nicht ganz aufhören muss zu arbeiten" (Interview 9, 205-207).

> *[D]ieses Thema Gesundheit oder Krankheit [...], WENN einen das betrifft, dann wird es plötzlich ein ganz grosses Thema, es ist das wichtigste überhaupt, und dann ist man darauf angewiesen, dass es da solche Sachen gibt, wie jetzt hier in Bezug auf Ergonomie, dass man das hier berücksichtigt, oder auch die Möglichkeit, halbtags zu arbeiten (Interview 9, 39-48).*

This illustrates again that against the background of the second repertoire, the different endeavours are meant to accommodate the urgent needs of minorities. Thus, participating employees stress that they depend on attentiveness and helpfulness:

> *Aber für mich war das ja keine Frage dann, ich wusste ja, dass ich reduzieren MUSS, gesundheitlich [...]. Und deshalb bin ich da sehr froh, dass mir das möglich gemacht wurde, dass man Rücksicht nimmt auf die Schwächeren oder auf die Alten, von uns gibt es ja immer mehr und wir sind darauf angewiesen, dass man uns nicht abschiebt (Interview 9, 139-146).*

In this spirit, the different concepts represent the only chance for minorities to maintain their routine, to come to a suitable arrangement and to integrate themselves as well as possible:

> *Da war ich sehr froh, weil man ist eben wirklich darauf angewiesen dann, es ging einfach alles nicht mehr so schnell, und man hat zusätzliche Termine und Übungen und alles solche Dinge und es war ja auch schwer genug, überhaupt wieder in den Alltag zurückzukommen nach all der Umstellung. - Aber für mich war es trotzdem sehr wichtig weiter arbeiten zu können (Interview 9, 125-130).*

Against this background, ultimately, healthcare concepts are geared towards those particular workers who are in need. In this way, they do not differ from the constructions of diversity endeavours illustrated above.

Likewise, with regard to the subject of volunteering, endeavours of corporate social responsibility can be modelled on these patterns. First of all, this concerns those measures that are geared towards pressing "societal issues" in general. Thus, speakers point out „wie viel es eben noch ausserhalb [der] Arbeitswelt gibt - - wie viel Bedürftigkeit es gibt" (Interview 8, 120-122). In this context, the assumption that somewhere on the outside of the “business world” there are “social duties” takes centre stage:

> *Das ist ja schon von der Aussage her, dass man da sagen kann, schaut, wir wollen nicht einfach nur Gewinn machen, wir kümmern uns auch um gesellschaftliche Fragen, und uns sind auch diejenigen was wert, die vielleicht auf der Schattenseite des Lebens stehen [...].[K]lar, im Alltagsgeschäft ist da natürlich nicht so die Rede davon. Das geht ja auch nicht, da muss man sich natürlich um andere Dinge kümmern (Interview 8, 96-104).*

As these endeavours are constructed in opposition to “economical” concerns, “pro-social” concerns are often constructed in opposition to “personal” ones (cf., chap.6). Thus, concerned employees keep silent about their “altruistic deeds”:

> *Also, hier spricht man da eigentlich nicht darüber. Da geht es schon um die Arbeit. Da will ich auch nicht so dastehen, wie wenn ich das an die grosse Glocke hängen will und mich da schmücken. Ich tue es für die Notleidenden, und für den Herrgott, aber nicht für – schaut mal her, was ich alles mache (Interview 8, 220-224).*

With regard to notions of “volunteering” and the workforce itself, on the other hand, it becomes clear that the repertoire of “minority interests” acts as a less momentous tool. It is not very likely that there are many employees who are essentially depending on the possibility of spending time volunteering. However, when considering general moral and ethical, and particular religious arguments, there prove to be workers who conceive of time for volunteering as a prior interest and need. Against the backdrop of the second repertoire, interestingly enough, they also construct themselves in the manner of an obliging minority. Hence, one employee points out that volunteering is really important to her and that working part-time is her only option in order to cope with this task. Therefore, she stresses a very strong commitment:

> *Aber das ist mir jetzt dadurch schon viel - - bewusster geworden, worum es einfach WIRKLICH geht im Leben, was zählt und was eben nicht. Von dem her würde ich auch sagen, bin ich eben – ich war schon immer ein religiöser Mensch, aber eben nicht so richtig aktiv – und da bin ich da schon noch einmal - - das hat sich sehr verändert,*

dass ich jetzt weiss, WOFÜR ich meine Kraft geben will (Interview 8, 155-161).

Though based on a perhaps less essential "need", the future of this employee entirely depends on a merciful arrangement. In this spirit, also in terms of volunteering and respective working models, employees can construct themselves by means of the "minorities repertoire".

Arguing in favour of a virtually "neutral" subject as the time factor – be it against the backdrop of "health care", "life balance", or general "diversity" concepts – the image of clearly definable "minorities" comes back in through the back door. At this point, talking about different working hours is no longer so much a glamorous sabbatical and a fancy world-tour, but more about the compatibility of work and parenting, often about a stable half-time job with small potential for change. Consequently, the discussion easily shifts from a spectacular top-sharing to a pragmatic job-sharing:

> *Jobsharings haben wir funktionierende. Das ist aber alles auf sehr tiefer Ebene, im administrativen Bereich, [...] im Service [...], Sachbearbeitende haben wir. Aber ab höherem Kader bis Direktion haben wir im Moment kein Jobsharing (Interview 14, 236-239).*

Thus, as analysed in terms of the first repertoire, an HR or CSR endeavour modelled on the second repertoire is not geared towards virtually every kind of social interaction. By contrast, it stresses particular target groups. But this time, these endeavours are not aimed at the centre and its "ideal worker" itself. Rather, the "minorities repertoire" is marked by the awareness that there are people outside the centre who find themselves in a "minor" position. These employees seem to lack the conditions of the "ideal worker" and hence have "other needs". Meeting these "other needs", finally, can become a very serious concern.

5.2.2 Matters of social consciousness: On hearts of gold and good deeds on the margins

Looking back at the interpretative repertoire I, the source of "ideal worker luxury", the different measures turned out to be fairly disposable. The determining factor proved to be solely composed of cost-benefit considerations. In terms of the minorities repertoire, however, the matter becomes far more serious. Against this backdrop, HR and CSR concepts are no longer viewed as a rather arbitrary fair-weather luxury, but as a serious concern of both dependent workers and respective interest groups. Thus, a disposable accessory, a calculable note in the margins, can turn into a highly political issue.

As the previous section has illustrated, however, the "minorities repertoire" refers to the different HR and CSR endeavours as a beneficial gesture for needy minorities on the fringes of the company (or society). Modelled on the source of interpretative repertoire II, therefore, the endeavours are supposed to provide support for special interests and needs outside the centre of the system. They aim to help cope with the more severe conditions of particular disadvantaged groups, to provide for their needs, and to sooth their suffering. First of all, then, interpretative repertoire II provides a moral-ethical basis and conceives of the different measures as a "pro-social" contribution. This approach centres on special interest groups as well as singular actors with "a heart of gold", that is people who „einfach so ein grosses Herz haben, dass sie sagen, wir dürfen es nicht vergessen, dass diese […] Leute […] auf unsere Hilfe angewiesen sind" (Interview 9, 213-215). First of all, such an approach underlies the assumption of a personality that ideally is supposed to be "mature" and "pro-social". Then, the focus is not so much on what different actors (or voices) create when they enter into a dialogue, but rather on mental attitudes and inner values of particular actors. Within such a humanistic ideal, a program like "SideSwitch" is considered as a contribution in order to educate the integrated personality:

> *Also, ich bin hoch interessiert, den SeitenWechsel im Unternehmen drinnen zu verbreiten […], [w]eil ich sehr überzeugt bin, nicht nur, weil das etwas Soziales ist, sondern weil ich glaube, dass das in der Persönlichkeitsentwicklung der Kader einen Blick auftut (Interview 21, 444-448).*

Hence, arguments for the relevance of the different endeavours often refer to the education of mature personalities and their social consciousness in general.

By pointing at clear-cut target groups and their neediness, moreover, the argument turns out to be (often implicitly) affected by a strict distinction between those who are affected on the one hand and those who are not affected on the other:

> *Weil wie gesagt, Gesunde brauchen das alles nicht, […] eigentlich wollen sie da nicht darüber reden, sie sind ja gesund und für sie ist das - - - es ist einfach nicht ihre Welt (Interview 9, 208-211).*

Thus, the subject of "health" is constructed in the same way as "gender", or more generally, "diversity": If people meet the criteria of the standard employee (in this case in terms of being a young and healthy person), there is no such issue. If they deviate from this, they are forced into a minor position and rely on specific support. In this vein, questions of falling ill or aging, for instance, are subjects that strong workers cannot be bothered with:

> *Ein gesunder Mensch will davon nichts hören, das ist die Erfahrung, die ich gemacht habe. Ich sage immer, solange man gesund ist, gibt es keine Krankheit [...]. Und wozu sollten sich das die Jungen auch anhören, es betrifft sie ja nicht (Interview 9, 40-44).*

As this older employee stresses, disease is not a subject of healthy people, „Krankheit, das ist nicht das Thema von gesunden Leuten" (Interview 9, 104):

> *Niemand will ständig hören, dass man Rückenschmerzen hat, das können Sie mir glauben (Interview 9, 182f.)*

In this way, people see no way of giving voice to their "otherness" within the centre of the company. Thus, it is important that they are heard by the specific target groups and their representatives. Both weakness and strength are not viewed as something that can reside within everybody. This is – to anticipate an important consequence – why "the strong persons" are never directly concerned and "the weak ones" can merely receive, and never give (cf., chap. 6.2).

Ultimately, being different is conceived of as a bothersome "side note" that people with "a heart of gold" should attend to.

5.2.3 Us against them: On rankings and conflicts of interests

As the previous section illustrated, specific interests are conceived of as a matter for those who are affected – but never for those "ideal workers" who reside within the centre of the system and have to centre on the core business. If there is no connection to the “real” concern of an organization, as a consequence, different interests and the respective HR and CSR concepts prove to be constantly at stake. Making use of an endeavour implies being lucky to receive something without ever being able to give. On the one hand, as shown above, this perspective implies a lack of “diverse people” and stigmatizes them as needy minorities. On the other hand, competing for being the most needy group provokes conflicts of interests in opposition to the centre as well as among the target groups themselves. Thus, while giving account of how a deviation from the traditional working model can entail envy, an interviewee illustrates:

> *[I}ch hatte eine Kollegin […], die hat mir jeden Donnerstag abend schöne Ferien gewünscht! Und das kann einem natürlich böse auf die Nerven gehen. Und ich wurde auch manchmal wirklich wütend (Interview 16, 712-715).*

Likewise, a person who took a sabbatical speaks of envious reactions of many colleagues:

> *[D]as waren so Aussagen wie […]: ‚Naja, das muss man sich auch erst mal leisten können, einfach so in den Urlaub zu fliegen für drei Monate.' Solche Sachen, solche - - Sticheleien […]. Oder auch solche Sachen, wenn ich ein bisschen so erzählt habe […], dass man gefragt wird: ‚Ja, aber wenn es dir HIER zu viel ist, willst du denn nicht erst mal HIER deinen Alltag auf die Reihe bekommen […]?' - - Das sind schon so Kommentare, die einem zu denken geben (Interview 11, 148-158).*

Further, concerning her decision to take a sabbatical, she gives account of different statements that she refers to as „[d]oppelbödig“ (Interview 11, 166), as ambiguous:

> *Dass man gesagt hat, ach, toll, das ist ja schön für dich. Und dass dann aber so was hinterher kam in die Richtung wie: Naja, das ist ja schon arg flexibel von der Firma, einfach drei Monate auf einen Mitarbeiter zu verzichten, da wird dem Arbeitgeber schon viel abverlangt, wenn das öfters in Anspruch genommen würde. Also es darf ja nicht jeder, aber - - [unverst.]. Ich würde sagen, da kann man dann doch Zurückhaltung spüren, oder auch Neid (Interview 11, 167-173).*

In this vein, being able to draw on an arrangement like a sabbatical is conceived of as a problematic privilege. The employer can grant exemption, but such opportunities are becoming scarce. Making use of an arrangement implies exhaustion and always acts as a bone of contention. Therefore, male employees working part-time due to parenting obligations prefer not to talk about their experiences:

> *[W]ir haben eine Anzahl Männer, die das macht. Das ist aber ein interessantes Phänomen, die outen sich nicht gerne. Ich hatte letztes Jahr eine Anfrage einer Zeitung, Männer in Teilzeit, oder Väter in Teilzeit, und ich habe verschiedene Männer eruieren können und am Schluss blieben dann nur noch zwei, weil die haben gesagt, ich musste doch kämpfen und ich hatte immer so Diskussionen mit meinen Kollegen, ich will das einfach nicht mehr. Nein, ich will jetzt nicht in der Zeitung erscheinen. Ich will nicht so als Strahlemann, viele Leute sind ja glücklich, wenn sie in der Zeitung kommen, die aber nicht. Weil, die haben gesagt, ich habe es mir erarbeitet. Aber es gibt zu viel Neid, es gibt zu viele Diskussionen, ich möchte da jetzt nicht noch mal etwas drauflegen (Interview 16, 170-181).*

Thus, employees making use of an HR or CSR endeavour are anxious to avoid public discussions. By drawing on the second repertoire, they are glad that they have managed to achieve those perks that deviate from the norm and tend to ensconce themselves within their special status in the margins. In this context, though, it emerges that there is an endless struggle not to meet with criticism from the centre. Thus, a manager and single parent who negotiated for teleworking gives account of the daily challenges she faces:

> *Und irgendwie steht man ja auch immer ein bisschen mehr unter dem Druck, denen in der Firma zu beweisen, dass es auch so funktioniert. Denn wenn man dann versagt, dann heisst es gleich, ja klar, die, wie soll das auch gehen, allein erziehend, zwei Kinder, wie soll sie da zuhause was geschafft kriegen? Und dann muss man schon wieder aufpassen, dass man es nicht zu perfekt machen will. Denn die Frage ist ja schon, wenn du zuhause arbeitest und nicht irgendwann aus der Firma rausgehen kannst und sagen kannst, so, für heute war's das, bist du dann rund um die Uhr im Einsatz? […] Das ist dann schon manchmal ein Kampf, also, da fühle ich mich schon manchmal sehr- - auf mich allein gestellt (Interview 2, 254-269).*

By drawing on the "minorities repertoire", then, the manager positions herself in opposition to the centre, which still defines the norms of what a "legal" working model should constitute. Therefore, her use of a measure like teleworking becomes an endless struggle against the requirements of such norms. It is a struggle of “us” (minority interest) against “them” (the company). In the case of the manager cited, the struggle concerns “us” in terms of “liberated females” against “the rest” of the company:

> *Und ich hab mich dann auch hier an die Gleichstellungsbeauftragte gewandt, die hat mich da auch sehr unterstützt[…]. Also, ich hatte so das Gefühl, dass es für sie fast genauso wichtig war wie für mich, dass das bei mir durchgeht, also eben 100 Prozent und diese Telearbeit. Sie hat mir immer wieder gesagt, ‚denken Sie dran, die schreiben das in ihren Leitbildern, dann müssen sie auch dazu stehen, wenn die Leute es in Anspruch nehmen wollen' (Interview 2, 221-228).*

The representative, then, is conceived of as dichotomous to the company and its actors who are referred to by means of a very distant “them”. In this spirit, women are seen as relieved by the support of eligible experts and fellow combatants:

> *[H]ier weiss ich einfach, dass ich Mitstreiterinnen habe. Ich hab das ja erzählt von der Gleichstellungsbeauftragten hier, […] die setzt sich eben total ein, da ist ein echtes Engagement dahinter, das kann man gut spüren. Das ist nicht nur der Job, da geht es eben auch um, ja, da wird es eben auch politisch, da geht es um Chancengleichheit, ganz klar. - - […] Also, ich denke, da müssen wir Frauen schon auch noch mehr zusammenhalten. Gerade, wenn es um Diskriminierung geht, oder eben sexuelle Belästigung, Mobbing (Interview 2, 304-316).*

From this point of view, women have to join forces and fight for their rights. The focus is geared towards a common interest that the respective interest group is struggling for. Likewise, the employee who invests a lot of her time in volunteering stresses that like-minded people should stick together:

> *Also privat, privat ist es natürlich auch so, man hat ja seinen Bekanntenkreis, der da ähnlich denkt […]. Man hat die gleichen Werte, man hat die gleiche Grundeinstellung […]. [M]an ist da schon - - getragen. Und das spielt sicher eine ganz wichtige Rolle, dass man eben weiss, man hat da diese gemeinsame Grundlage, auf die man sich bezieht, diese gemeinsamen christlichen Werte, die man teilt (Interview 8, 176-199).*

As this employee stresses the importance of being able to draw on the same values, another voice points out the importance of having the same interests and rests upon the implicit assumption that "birds of a feather flock together":

> *Es ist ja auch, ich sage immer, gleich und gleich gesellt sich gerne. Da geht man natürlich auch gerne los, da weiss man, man hat die gleichen Interessen. (Interview 10, 302-304).*

Along the spectrum of the respective interest groups and the positions within or outside the centre, then, the fronts are divided into "us" and "them". Whereas agreement exists within a group (or even collusion), other groups become "the opponent". Therefore, some of the experts stress the problems of, for instance, constructing "diversity" as a women's matter, as "Frauenförderung" (Interview 16, 12). They give account of how this can give rise not only to disinterest but also to a considerable extent to conflicts on the part of "the opponent". Thus, it can be considered as very problematic „wenn Sie eben sagen, dass Sie Frauenbeauftragte sind, oder wenn sie zu viele [Themen behandeln], wo es immer nur um Frauen geht" (Interview 19, 583-585). In this context, a diversity expert gives account of her experiences with male resistance:

> *Also diese Erfahrung habe ich sehr stark gemacht. Ich habe viele Präsentationen gemacht [...]. Ein realer Kommentar, den jemand mal gesagt hat – ‚ja, Sie haben gut angefangen, es war super, und am Schluss haben Sie doch nur über Frauen geredet, ich bin enttäuscht' – der ist so sinnbildlich, dieser Satz. [...] [W]eil die [...] Männer fühlen sich sofort angegriffen, das ist ja auch logisch, wenn Sie sagen, ‚let's talk about women' und wir haben 30 Prozent, dann ist das gleich, wie wenn Sie sagen: ‚Ihr 70 Prozent, ihr könnt mal rausgehen, ihr seit gar nicht gemeint, ihr seit nicht inbegriffen, ihr könnt nicht profitieren.' Und das ist, das ist schlimm. Und man stempelt sie gleichzeitig noch zum Täter (Interview 19, 585-603).*

This opposition of affected and not-affected reconstructs first of all a divide between "us" and "them". Thereby, it constructs the "antagonist" as an "offender" and the "diverse person" as a helpless "victim". In this vein, the expert further alerts us to the fact that „wenn Sie das Täter-Opfer-Schema aufbauen, dann können sie eigentlich zusammenpacken und nach Hause gehen" (Interview 19, 608f.). The concern in this regard is not just with a division between "us", the respective "minority group" on the margins, and "them", the "ideal workers" in the centre. Rather, when funds are limited, each interest group constructed by means of the second repertoire finds itself in the awkward position of struggling against other needy applicants on the margins. The issue is therefore always about which "minority" currently places first in Switzerland and can thus be ranked above the other "competitors". Currently, as the data show, "minorities" that can be linked either to the subject of gender or to culture prove to come in first.

5.3 Interpretative repertoire III: Different voices within the overall organization

5.3.1 Overcoming categories and addressing virtually everybody

The first two repertoires introduced above both turned out to be geared towards special target groups. Whereas the first one centred on "ideal workers", the second focused on "minority groups". Both sources, namely *ideal worker luxury in the centre of the system* and *minority interests and good deeds on the margins* proved to construct the target groups against the backdrop of a dichotomous centre and its images of an "ideal workforce". The third repertoire, finally, refrains from defining singular target groups. Conceiving of the concepts as a concern for the overall organization, it provides a rather comprehensive and inclusive approach. In this sense, an expert stresses the explicit quest for including "everybody":

> *[J]eder ist damit gemeint. Und darum sagen wir ‚Diversity: Inclusion!' (Interview 19, 591).* [22]

Thus, interpretative repertoire III does not adopt the categories of singular groups as they stand. It is not about – for instance – singular health-related offers. Rather, it stands for broader organizational basic issues, including agency, a holistic leadership, and working atmosphere, „Handlungsfreiheit, ganzheitliche Führung, Arbeitsklima" (Interview 18, 41f.): „Es geht eben immer um das ganze System" (ibid., 9).

[22] Nevertheless, against the backdrop of "inclusion", the gender-aware reader might stumble across the use of the exclusive masculine form "jeder". Thus, one might further source elements of the first and second repertoire.

One of the interviews in particular provides some illuminating statements that help to illustrate some crucial features of the third repertoire. The following passage, therefore, will address it in greater detail. Nevertheless, the discourse analytic approach still focuses on the interpretative repertoires and their consequences. It is not meant to analyse their respective users or producers, who are conceived of as potentially oscillating between different sources. Rather than discussing the respective individual or organizational points of view, therefore, the goal of this analysis is still to move beyond the produced and reproduced building blocks of conversation. Keeping this in mind, the analysis can turn to the following accounts of one of the diversity experts.

First of all, in this case, the role of experts is conceived of as instigating a vital process that affects the corporate culture. Thus, "experts" are referred to as „Impulsgeber, die eine Kultur beeinflussen wollen" (Interview 19, 975). In this vein, "diversity" is not just addressed at several target groups in particular. Rather, it refers to organizational conditions of social processes in general. It is therefore not about accomplishing "good deeds" aside from "what really counts" in terms of the centre language. It is a matter of reaching the whole organization. Consequently, the interviewee stresses the concern of melting the dichotomies between doing core business on the one hand and doing public relations or charitable acts on the other:

> *Bewusst bauen wir nicht eine Diversity Management Group auf, weil sonst […] sagt jeder Manager und Topmanager: ‚Das ist ja prima, wir machen ja Diversity in der Firma. Die machen Diversity und ich mach' Business'. Und das wollen wir explizit nicht (Interview 19, 209-212).*

Such an approach questions current images of the "ideal worker" by adding other models that are also meant to occupy a position in the everyday life of business. Thus, for instance, intercultural issues are not conceived of as a field that exclusively addresses people with different cultural backgrounds. It is deliberately also geared towards those people who do not operate internationally, „die nicht international sich bewegen, die Stammbelegschaft" (Interview 19, 49). In this spirit, the third repertoire is not simply marked by an increased number of specific target groups. One might argue that this can also be the case within repertoire II, the "minorities repertoire" as well. As section 5.2 illustrated, within repertoire II, one can also find both narrow and broader definitions of groups in need. Interpretative repertoire III, however, not only concerns a broader approach to a singular concept. Rather, it aims to move beyond predefined categories and their implicit assumptions in order to affect the overall organizational context. In doing so, it is in a position to open up and reflect on broader connections and relationships of the respective concepts. Numerations of clearly defined target groups therefore turn into explorations of new common grounds. In this sense, for instance, a rather technical (and – according to Jent (2003; 2004) even meaningless) term like "diversity management" can turn into "diversity" in terms of differences. This shift places an emphasis on the assumption that there is never "the diverse person" with his or her clearly definable "diverse qualities", but that social interaction always starts from differences that reside within everybody.

From this point of view, then, a conceptualization regarding "diversity" can never be conceived of as separated from other HR and CSR endeavours. Likewise, against the backdrop of repertoire III, the gap between measures of "diversity" and a program like "SideSwitch" begins to break down. In this vein, an expert on volunteering stresses:

> *[W]ir werden mehr darauf gehen, dass der SeitenWechsel etwas ist, um die Diversity zu fördern, den Umgang mit Diversity […]. Wir werden mehr dahin gehen zu sagen: ‚SeitenWechsel ist ein Ausdruck von CSR eines Unternehmens, Corporate Social Responsibility' (Interview 21, 597-611).*

The first repertoire illustrated how "SideSwitch" can be understood as a singular measure that might be offered when the resources allow it. Its potential impact, then, was solely discussed in terms of an employee's "personal world". Drawing on a strict dichotomy of the "private sphere" on the one hand and "business" on the other, the one was unrelated to the other. Thus, participating in a program like "SideSwitch" was conceived of as strictly separated from other HR and CSR endeavours, even from measures of "corporate volunteering" (cf., chap. 5.1). Interpretative repertoire III, by contrast, explicitly aims at bridging the different subjects:

> *[I]ch glaub an das Potenzial eines SeitenWechsel und – vielleicht auch wenn man den Link schaffen könnte – ich glaube auch an das Potenzial eines SeitenWechsels als eine hervorragende Basis auch für*

ein sogenanntes Corporate Volunteering, das eigentlich Personal Volunteering ist, aber das Corporate initiiert wurde (Interview 21, 504-509).

Thus, the third repertoire approaches the program not as a fair-weather luxury, but rather as a crucial element within the organization itself. By doing so, it enables a perspective on the different HR and CSR construction that focuses on their cultural interactions. Likewise, to provide a further example, pressing issues of time and compatibility (which can be blamed for the term "work-life balance") converge in the area of volunteering:

[D]ie Work-Life-Balance, die ja nicht nur heisst [...] Erziehungs- oder Kinder- oder Hausarbeit und Job, sondern auch meine Bedürfnisse, auch mein Engagement zum Beispiel zugunsten einer gemeinnützigen Institution oder von der Allgemeinheit (Interview 21, 220-224).

Regarding the different endeavours as embedded within a broader philosophy, as „eingebettet […] in Corporate Social Responsibility oder in eine Nachhaltigkeitspolitik" (V, H, 142f.), furthermore, the different areas of activity become more integrative:

[M]eine Position in dem Unternehmen ist nicht die vom Personellen oder vom HR, sondern ich bin sozusagen ein - - ein - interner Experte für verschiedene Themen, [...] die sozialen Charakters sind. Also die im weitesten Sinn Corporate Social Responsibility abdecken (Interview 21, 13-17).

First of all, therefore, the third repertoire rejects the separation of the different measures. It moves beyond separated categories and focuses on their underlying relationships. Whether the concern is with typical measures of "diversity", of "health care", or volunteering" – the "voices repertoire" conceives of the respective endeavours as cultural contributions that are based upon the same grounds.

5.3.2 Reflecting on otherness and entering into dialogue

As the previous section illustrated, the third repertoire primarily concerns an enrichment of the singular approaches in terms of a broader reflection against a cultural background. In doing so, it aims at overcoming categories in several (intertwined) respects. Thus, with regard to different manners of concept-making, it connects singular HR and CSR endeavours by incorporating them within a broader perspective on corporate cultural as well as societal issues. According to an inclusive approach, it no longer distinguishes between different well-defined (and thus easily stigmatized) target groups. Rather, the perspective on the respective endeavours base in a quest to reach the whole organization. Thereby, the company is viewed as one of many potential spaces in which different voices can interact in manifold ways. A crucial point, then, becomes the question of how these voices can be encouraged to develop and express themselves. Ultimately, it is the challenge of how they can be empowered to have their say and how they can be heard within the overall organization.

In this vein, a sabbatical, for instance, is not only conceived of as a tricky arrangement that a company might grant following a thorough cost-benefit analysis in terms of the first repertoire. Rather, the employee's potential new experiences and reflections are appreciated as a contribution to a heterogeneous dialogue. From this point of view, the dichotomy between the impacts on "personal life" on the one hand and "work life" on the other are left behind:

> *Und es geht ja eben darum, dass man – also das sind ja so die hauptsächlichen Funktionen [...] von so einer Auszeit –, dass man Burnout, wenn man ausgebrannt ist, oder besser, dass man da bereits präventiv, dass es so weit gar nicht erst KOMMT, dass man da etwas tut. Also, dass man sich wirklich GEZIELT erholt, einmal wirklichen Abstand hat zum Alltag. Natürlich, ja, auch Weiterbildung, aber das kann man ja auch sehr weit fassen. Ich finde, eine Reise, ein Aufenthalt in einer fremden Kultur, wie jetzt Mittelamerika, das ist auch eine Weiterbildung. Eine sehr gute sogar (Interview 11, 90-99).*

Individual experiences in "private life" are no longer separated from "business life". In this vein, the dichotomy of private and business world gives way to a perspective on the different intertwined ways to explore new grounds. Taking a sabbatical, then, can be regarded as an enrichment not in terms of a a zero-sum game where there must be winners and losers. Rather, it is seen as another input, another line of flight that enriches the organization. In terms of new working models for men, to give another example, one of the diversity experts stresses the importance of approaching the subject from different perspectives. Thus, within continuing workshops, various issues were discussed:

> *Ich habe erlebt, dass von diesen 900 Leuten, die ich gesehen habe, die Hälfe ABSOLUT erstaunt war über den Arbeitsvertrag. Wie sieht denn der konkret aus? Man wusste nicht mal was möglich ist […]. Aber da hat wirklich ein Umdenken stattgefunden. Wir haben externe Beraterinnen eingeladen dazu, wir haben externe Fachleute eingeladen […]. [Wichtig war] auch, dass unsere Mitarbeitenden sich sehr vertrauensvoll öffnen konnten - und mussten. Ich erzähle auch Privates […]. Und diese Kombination denke ich, hat sehr viel ausgelöst und sehr viel gebracht (Interview 14, 58-82).*

In this sense, a measure like introducing alternative working models is depicted as a quest for reflecting and bridging different worlds of personal/business spaces and the respective ascriptions of responsibility. Consequently, the "voices repertoire" tries to overcome the rather homogenous voice of the centre by encouraging a variety of lives and horizontal expansions. Furthermore, such expansions are portrayed in contrast to the image of a strictly vertical job ladder as associated with the University of St. Gallen:

> *Gerade die HSG [University of St. Gallen] – ich habe schon einige HSG- Praktikanten gehabt, kenne sie hier, begrüsse sie auch – […] da ist sehr klar auf Karrierelastigkeit ausgerichtet […]. [I]ch habe Leute von der HSG, wenn die mit 30 nicht im Kader sind, sind die ARG enttäuscht. Die machen sehr viel Schwierigkeiten im Kontakt. Weil es ist so: [gesture: narrow path] - -. Und ich denke, Erfolg kann wirklich auch ganz anders, in der Horizontalen noch definiert werden (Interview 14, 347-354).*

Likewise, another expert points out a purely economic focus of alumni from the University of St. Gallen:

> *Die Ausbildung von Hochschulabgängern von der Wirtschaftshoch-schule St. Gallen, dass die immer nur Zahlen kennen, das ist wirklich ein Problem (Interview 18, 290-292).*

Drawing on the assumption that a broader approach increases "social competences"[23], this restricted focus is held responsible for a neglect of pressing further issues:

> *Das ist sicher auch ein GANZ ein grosses Thema, die Sozialisation von Führungskräften, wobei die immer noch sehr stark auf die Fachkompetenz ausgerichtet ist anstatt auf die Sozialkompetenz […]. Und ich denke, dort ist im Moment die Auswahl immer noch sehr stark finanzlastig (Interview 18, 225-232).*

In terms of different perspectives and different ways of life, the cited expert further refers to an employee taking time out and going through a salient turning point:

> *Und der ist zurückgekommen mit einer anderen Einstellung […]. Vorher ist er absolut karrieregeil gewesen. Und jetzt, wo er zurückgekommen ist, stellt er sehr viel in Frage von einer Karriere. Und da hat sich viel verändert und weiterentwickelt (Interview 18, 159-163).*

This illustrates how "other" experiences can make a contribution to an extended perspective on different trajectories. However, one might argue against this citation that it could implicate a "mature personality" in terms of repertoire II. Thus, the speaker proves to move back and forth between the second and the third repertoire. In this vein, when giving account of "pro-social enrichments", many of the interviewees turn out to oscillate between the different interpretative repertoires (cf., chap. 6). The understanding of what an enrichment can be, then, can easily shift from "polyphony" and its social relational assumptions to the image of a strong personality and "social consciousness" in terms of repertoire II. At this point, however, the citation is provided in order to illustrate possiblites of sensitizing and developing "other" voices. In order to meet the repertoire of *different voices within the overall organization*, in turn, the argumentation still has to be discussed in regard to its potential to enter into a dialogue.

---

[23] At this point, one might enter into a fundamental discussion on the subject of "social competences". Then again, one could not focus on a claim for enrichment but rather trace back the old gap between "social" on the one hand and "economical" on the other hand (cf. chap. 6). Within this context, however, it is merely gathered as a citation that might be able to contribute to the repertoire of "different voices".

Either way, a program like “SideSwitch” is primarily conceived of as an enriching possibility in order to sensitize people to the fact that

> *[…] sie mal sehen, die Welt besteht nicht nur aus der [Firma], sondern sie ist noch ein bisschen weiter. Und die stehen dann anders drin, wenn sie zurückkommen, weil sie einfach noch gesehen haben, aha, offenbar besteht der Mensch nicht nur als [Funktionsausführender] (Interview 21, 440-443).*

Such a more holistic perspective entails reflections on the dominant language of the centre. In this vein, for instance, an expert gives account of the broader reflections of managers who had participated in a “SideSwitch”. Thus, as he points out, they might start questioning the economic givens:

> *Also es scheint, dass Überlegungen angestellt werden, also, was ist denn eigentlich in meinem Umfeld, in dem halt Kriterien wie Effizienz gelten, Kriterien wie Leistung, wie halt auch einmal sehr viel Leistung, welche Konsequenzen hat das, kann das haben (Interview 13, 66-69) .*

Similarly, another expert gives account of how “changing ends” can even imply changing a life:

> *Es ist durchaus auch interessant, dass mindestens in einigen Fällen man festgestellt hat, dass das Verhalten am Arbeitsplatz sich verändert hat, und es gibt auch einige Fälle, in denen dann aus einem SeitenWechsel ein völliger SeitenWechsel stattgefunden hat. Da gibt es einige Beispiele. Da haben diese Leute diese Unternehmen verlassen und haben einen neuen Arbeitsplatz im Non-Profit-Bereich gesucht (Interview 13, 69-75).*

This shows to which extent HR and CSR endeavours can be understood as a catalyst of vital change. Again, one might ask whether such utterances cannot be read as a call for implementing measures that are geared towards educating a “person of integrity” aside from his or her social interactions (cf., chap. 5.2). Indeed, although it can also be discussed against this background, it still conveys a crucial feature of the third repertoire: The aim of leaving the given images of what an “ideal workforce” can constitute behind, and developing an “other” voice.

In this way, the following passages illustrate two life-changing experiences of former “ideal workers” in greater detail. The first citations stem from a – to put it in traditional economic terms – very successful manager, who started working with disabled people. In former times, as he points out, he had a clear-cut picture of his demanding career within the centre of a big company:

> *Und ich konnte mir das [working with disabled people] damals nicht vorstellen. Ich habe einen Status gehabt […],, habe SEHR gut verdient, habe mein Einzelbüro gehabt in [bester Lage], wo ganz viele nur von träumen, und alle übrigen Sachen, die sonst noch dazugehören, das Auto, den Parkplatz, und, und, und. Also all die schönen Benefits, die es gibt (Interview 6, 45-50).*

While giving account of the comfort he once enjoyed, he emphasizes the extent of his new experiences and what they entailed. In this spirit, he stresses that initially, he firmly believed in definitions of what constitutes being “normal”, refusing to listen to “deviations” from this standard:

> *Ich habe vorher, bevor ich daher gekommen bin, einen relativ weiten Bogen gemacht um jeden Rollstuhl, der mir in die Nähe gekommen ist oder um jede Behinderung, die mir in die Nähe gekommen ist. Also, um alles was aus meiner Sicht nicht ganz normal war, habe ich wirklich einen weiten Bogen gemacht (Interview 6, 6-10).*

In the following, he points out how he became increasingly involved in the subject and what reflections this process entailed:

> *Und ich habe gemerkt, wie schnell mich das Thema fasziniert hat. Und wie ANDERS die Welt eigentlich ist, wie anders sie funktioniert (Interview 6, 93f.).*

Subsequently, he constructs these new experiences as vital turning points:

> *Und das ist für mich der Moment gewesen, wo ich auch alle Berührungsängste verloren habe bezüglich Behinderte[n], bezüglich Rollstühle[n], bezüglich - - aus Sicht von der Normalität unschöne[m] Essen, zum Beispiel. Wenn man an einem Tisch [sitzt] und einem Behinderten läuft das Essen, weil er es nicht kontrollieren kann, seitlich am Mund raus – am Anfang hat mich das geekelt. Und irgendwann legt man das ab und gerade nach einem halben Jahr habe ich gemerkt, aha, das gibt Chancen (Interview 6, 186-192).*

These quotations can illustrate a vital change from the former definitions of what constitutes “the centre” and what constitutes being “normal” to a profound sensitivity towards differences.

The next citations are gathered from the interview with the employee suffering from Menière’s disease introduced above. To him, in terms of repertoire III, change first of all implies learning to abandon the image of the “ideal worker”:

> *Was ich wirklich […] nachhaltig geändert habe, das ist gerade dieser bewusstere Umgang mit mir selbst. Also dass ich zuviel Stress nicht einfach ignoriere, nur weil er gerade keinen Platz hat. Wenn das so ist, wenn die Ohrengeräusche kommen, dann WEISS ich einfach, jetzt bist du zu weit gegangen. Punkt, aus, basta! - - Das kann man nicht ignorieren. Und dann hat das oberste Priorität, dass man da einen Weg findet, wie es auch anders laufen kann. Dass man halt auch mal was loslässt, abgibt, vielleicht auch verpasst im Job und dass man nicht immer nur denkt, es geht ja noch viel höher hinaus mit dir, du darfst halt nur nicht schlapp machen jetzt. Das ist ein ganz anderes Denken (Interview 12, 194-204).*

Here, first of all, the crucial point is to not view a disease merely as a “failure” that has to be covered up as well as possible, but also as a catalyst for gaining another perspective in terms of the above-illustrated horizontal expansions. In this vein, he illustrates the difference between a (desperate) adherence to habitual everyday life on the one hand and a crucial change on the other:

> *Da ist es eben bei weitem noch nicht getan mit einer Notfallvorbereitung [in terms of an acute Menière attack]. Das ist natürlich auch sicher wichtig […], aber das hilft dir alles nichts, wenn du nicht einen Schritt tiefer gehst und die Sache beim Schopf packst (Interview 12, 162-170).*

These illustrations of individuals who explored new avenues, finally, raise the central question of developing a voice. In this context, this “other” voice outside of the image of an “ideal worker” is not simply conceived of as a “private voice”. Rather, it is a voice that enters the organization, without discerning its centre and its fringes. In this vein, the ill employee talks about the relevance of organizational healthcare measures when developing his voice:

> *Irgendwie war das [the participation in a program] aber doch ein grosser Schritt […], weil plötzlich kommt das so in die Firma hinein. Plötzlich ist nicht mehr privat, dass du da erzählst oder dir irgendwas eingestehst – was ja auch schon schwer ist – sondern plötzlich wird das ein Thema bei deiner Arbeit. Das ist dann schon noch mal etwas anderes. […][.] [I]im Arbeitsalltag war das noch nicht drin. Und da - da wollt ich auch für mich selber das Zeichen setzen. Schliesslich hab ich mich dann also wirklich überwunden und hab dann teilgenommen an diesem Programm zur Stressbewältigung […] und habe gemerkt, dass das jetzt so ein weiterer Baustein ist in die richtige Richtung für mich (Interview 12, 272-288).*

In this way, a common organizational healthcare endeavour like stress management can be conceived of as a first step towards developing a voice as an "other" ideal employee. Thus, the employee appreciates such offers as a building block that can support him in being given a voice:

> *Es KANN immer nur ein kleiner Baustein sein, das ist klar, da darf man nicht zu viel erwarten. Aber für mich persönlich war es wirklich bedeutungsvoll. Gerade, wie ich es erwähnt hatte, dass man lernt, diese Probleme nicht nur privat zu bearbeiten, sondern auch da, wo sie ja eigentlich entstehen, bei der Arbeit. Von da kommt ja der Zeitdruck, was hilft es mir, wenn ich das Ganze am Wochenende in einem teuren Privatseminar aufarbeite, um dann Montag morgen wieder hierhin zu kommen und weiterzumachen und das alles – aussen vor zu lassen […]. Das ist ja auch das, was diese ganze Health-Care-Sache hier so interessant macht, wie ich es schon gesagt habe, dass es einem überhaupt mal die Möglichkeit bietet, hier vor Ort über so was überhaupt nachzudenken. Sich überhaupt mal RANZUTRAUEN an so einen Gedanken (Interview 12, 365-390).*

Thus it is not so much a matter of finding like-minded people and "sticking together" as the "minorities repertoire" suggested (although this might be an important experience as well). Nor is it a matter of how a specific healthcare offer can support coping strategies and thus conserve an "ideal workforce" in the manner of the "ideal worker repertoire". Rather, the third repertoire concerns the question of which different possibilities can be drawn on in order to support the different voices of an organization to enter into an open dialogue.

With regard to the illustrated "SideSwitch", however, one might raise some objections: First of all, one might argue that a successful manager leaving the company is an actual loss. Second, it could be claimed that leaving can never be a form of voice-giving. Indeed, from the company's viewpoint, this instance might sound counterproductive, if not even paradoxical. Either way, one might reply that this instance is an exception that merely shows the extreme case scenario of a turning point. With regard to the latter objection, one might consider the fact that the former "ideal worker" gives account of vivid discussions on the subject with his colleagues as well as with his superior (see below). In any case, he is not trying to hide his new voice. On the contrary, he aims to make it heard right in the middle of the organization's actors.

Listening to the experiences that workers have gained and looking back on the three interpretative repertoires, one can resume very different perspectives on the relevance of these new experiences so far. In terms of repertoire I, they were either neglected at all or understood as a "personal matter" that was irrelevant for the "real business". In terms of repertoire II, by contrast, new experiences and reflections were understood as a very important "educative" result of the respective measure. In this sense, the "minorities repertoire" based upon the assumption that there is a clearly definable goal, the "mature personality", in terms of a (happy) endpoint. Repertoire III, finally, stressed the social processes that take place in the in-between, creating meaning always anew. Thus, no matter whether the concern is with endeavours in terms of "diversity", "health care", or "volunteering", the focus is always on enriching the perspective and entering into a dialogue of many different voices. In this vein, the third interpretative repertoire centres on the endeavour of making space for different voices to have their say. Thereby, it targets not just the possibility of stating one's needs. Rather, it strives to enable dialogues in which people can voice things and others reply, carrying a thought further. In this vein, one of the experts stresses the relevance of making the idea of "SideSwitch" heard. He points out the primary relevance, „dass es offensichtlich gelungen ist, diese Gesamtfrage auch der sozialen Verantwortung, des sozialen Verhaltens eigentlich permanent in der öffentlichen Diskussion zu behalten" (Interview 13, 501-504). Entering into a dialogue, in the sense of repertoire III, does not mean carrying out some talks far away from the real action. Rather, voice-giving is conceived of as a sine qua non in order to move on, as one of the volunteering experts states:

> *Darüber reden, das ist ein wichtiger Faktor. Denn das Drüber-Reden generiert wieder neue Realitäten (Interview 21, 155f.).*

In this regard, the expert underlines the relevance of living and voicing differences within a "Gesprächskultur":

> *Corporate Volunteering ist bei [HUGE] etwas, was es schon gegeben hat, bevor man davon geredet hat. Und das hängt damit zusammen, dass die ganze Unternehmenskultur geprägt ist […] von einem Bewusstsein, das über Betriebsrationalität im engeren Sinn hinausgeht. Es hat eine sehr heterogene, ich sage eine politische Kultur. Es […] hat nicht irgendwo eine Betriebsrationalität, die die Leute zwingt so zu funktionieren und Punkt. Es ist sehr – Stichwort Diversity – sehr vielfältig, es ist auch sehr multikulturell. Und das heisst auch, dass die Leute die Realität, die sie draussen leben, viel mehr im Unternehmen drinnen auch irgendwo mit abbilden. Das heisst, das Unternehmen ist beim Stichwort Corporate Volunteering nicht vor der Frage gestanden, wie wollen wir uns als Unternehmen in der Thematik positionieren […], sondern wie eine selbstverständliche Kultur, dass die Leute da drinnen auch sowohl im Milizsystem tätig sein dürfen als auch freiwillige Aktivitäten nicht verstecken müssen […], es ist ganz stark abgestützt auf die Gesprächskultur vor Ort (Interview 21, 35-60).*

Thus, in terms of repertoire III it is stressed that it is important to develop one's voice aside from the canon of a homogenous "ideal workforce". Employees are not only asked to reflect upon their differences "in private", but they are challenged „darüber [zu] reden […], das nicht tabuisieren" (Interview 21, 240). With regard to the drawback of treating volunteering as a "taboo", the expert cited above provides the following example:

> *Ich habe im Zuge von den Diskussionen […] erlebt, dass mal ein Personalchef gesagt hat: ‚Ich habe jahrelang einfach die Türe zugemacht, wenn ich das Telefon gemacht habe und alles gerade verschwinden lassen, das hat kein Mensch gewusst, ich bin ständig von schlechtem Gewissen geplagt gewesen, darf ich das im Unternehmen oder nicht?' Und wenn man so was öffentlich sagen darf, wenn es klar ist, und wenn man das sogar in einer Zeitung nachlesen kann […]: ‚Aha, der engagiert sich und wird sogar dabei noch unterstützt vom Unternehmen', dann schafft das, glaube ich, eine viel bessere Kultur als irgendwie über die Schiene von Berufs-, Führungsausbildung, die [ohnehin] überlastet heute ist mit allen möglichen Themen (Interview 21, 241-254).*

Modelled on the "voices repertoire", therefore, the different concepts are discussed against the backdrop of corporate cultural issues (cf., chap. 6.3). If employees complain about their situation, then, they are explicitly invited to develop a voice. With regard to new working time models, a diversity expert summarizes an employee's complaints that the "advertised" arrangements cannot actually be realised and points out her idea of agency:[24]

> *Und überhaupt wollte ich immer weniger arbeiten, das ging auch nicht. Dann sage ich: Ja, haben Sie es jemals deutlich gesagt, haben Sie es ins MBO [Zielvereinbarung] reingeschrieben, dass das längerfristig für Sie wichtig wäre? – NEIN […]. ‚Bitte, es liegt bei Ihnen!' DIESE Art von wertekultureller Prägung, die wünschte ich mir noch mehr (Interview 14, 380-384).*[25]

In this sense, the main focus is not on target groups and what people are. Rather, it is about how different voices interact and make themselves heard. Strictly speaking, then, the sequence „Bitte, es liegt bei IHNEN!" can be read as another shift to the second repertoire. Consistently orientated to the third repertoire, it might rather sound as follows: „Bitte, es liegt bei UNS ALLEN!" Be that as it may, entering into a dialogue can ultimately be conceived of as a basic concern for each of the different HR and CSR concepts constructed by means of the third repertoire – though their further occurrences might differ greatly.

5.3.3 Setting out for new lines of flight and becoming other

As the previous sections illustrated, the third repertoire conceives of the singular HR and CSR endeavours as fragments of an inclusive approach towards overall (corporate as well as societal) cultural issues. In this vein, finally, the different constructions modelled on repertoire III are supposed to instigate "ongoing processes" (Interview 14, 275) that basically concern everybody. Such an approach tends to shift from clearly definable target groups as nouns to a becoming-thinking as verbs. Focusing on becoming in this regard is not a matter of starting from one fixed point and reaching

---

[24] Chapter 6.3 will take up these questions concerning "agency" or "courage".

[25] Strictly speaking, the sequence „Bitte, es liegt bei IHNEN!" once more can be read as a shift to the second repertoire. Consistently orientated to the third repertoire, it might rather sound as follows: „Bitte, es liegt bei UNS ALLEN!"

another fixed end. Rather, it is a matter of remaining open. In this sense, it is about new lines of flight:

> *[M]eine Stelle ist auch aus einer Initiative gekommen, die war nicht einfach so implementiert. Und wenn es solche Stellen gibt, dann wird auch in Zukunft das Thema irgendwo auf der Agenda sein, bei der Firma, das ist schon mal positiv. Oder […] wir haben ein Global Council bei [GIANT], ein Diversity Council, und die haben sich die Regel gegeben, […] jeder ist dort zwei Jahre und dann kommt ein neuer und das Chair wechselt alle zwei Jahre. Das stimmt mich eigentlich sehr positiv (Interview 19, 919-926).*

The third repertoire therefore challenges people to move on in terms of questioning given categories and being curious. In this sense, focusing on new paths within organizations is not concerned with an end product, but rather stresses the focus on the movement itself:

> *[W]enn man zuviel in der Zukunft denkt, dann verpasst man all die Gelegenheiten in der Gegenwart etwas zu tun. Also, ich bin sehr gegenwartsorientiert (Interview 19, 915-917).*

Likewise, the manager who decided to give up his career in order to change ends and explore new ways of life stresses that he deliberately is not so interested in pursuing a detailed long-term plan:

> *[I]ch bin eigentlich nie ein Mensch gewesen, der lange im Voraus geplant hat. Klar, wenn man älter wird, muss man vielleicht ein bisschen […] eine Altersplanung oder eine Altersvorsorge treffen […]. Aber ich wollte das jetzt nicht schon im Voraus sagen. […]. Also auch so unter dem Motto, es könnte auch noch viel Interessantes auf mich zukommen. Interessant ist ja schön (Interview 6, 632-653).*

Striving to "go with the flow" rather than committing oneself to the grand, linear outline of a "good life" (Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001) demands a rather open and inquisitive approach. Thus, the former "ideal worker" outlines different possibilities, refusing to settle for one of them. Thereby, he alludes to the idea of returning to a big company. And in terms of new working models and age, he conjectures:

> *Es könnte auch durchaus sein, […], dass ich vielleicht mit 60 meinen Nachfolger einstelle und dass wir dann zwei Jahre noch*

zusammenarbeiten und ich immer mehr reduzieren kann und irgendwann aussteige (Interview 6, 669-675).

According to the third repertoire, then, "empty spaces" (Steyaert, 2002, 2006; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, 2003/2001) are required from which new experiences can arise. Likewise, a part-time employee with a great interest in the theatre explains that leaving time frames open for spontaneous action is important in order to move on:

> *Ich bin eigentlich so ein Typ, der es gar nicht leiden kann, wenn man so völlig verplant ist und wenn dadurch nichts Spontanes mehr Platz hat (Interview 3, 26-28).*

In this regard, a threatening insecurity about the future is redrawn as a curious insecurity:

> *[S]o konkret ist da jetzt nichts, wo ich sagen würde, so und so und so soll es laufen. - - Ich hab da jetzt auch nicht die ehrgeizigen Ambitionen, was ich alles erreichen muss oder so. Mal schauen, was da so kommt. Also, jetzt um ein Beispiel zu nennen, spannend würde es sicher, wenn jetzt in Richtung Theater irgendwelche Angebote kommen würden. Das wäre schon so ein Traum […]. WENN etwas in die Richtung laufen WÜRDE, dann wäre ich da sicher offen. Auch wenn es natürlich etwas ganz Neues wäre, oder gerade deshalb [laughter] […]. Also, ich lasse mich da mal überraschen, spannend ist es so oder so. Mal schauen (Interview 3, 396-413).*

This striving to keep oneself open marks another important contrast to the quest for planning one's steps on the career ladder in terms of the image of the "ideal employee". Thus, while HR and CSR endeavours orientated to the first repertoire support this kind of goal orientation and straight path of a life course, the third repertoire is explicitly meant to empty these crowded spaces. In this vein, important elements of the "voices repertoire" are openness, curiosity, and a fluid "becoming-thinking". An interviewee puts it the following way:

> *Ich glaube, man muss sich einfach klar machen, es gibt nicht das Modell, das für alle Ewigkeit bestand hat, oder auch nur für ein Jahr oder für zwei Jahre bestand hat, sondern dass das Ideal darin besteht, dass man sich bewusst macht, dass das ein Prozess ist […]. Also, im Leben verändert sich die Situation ja immer […] [u]nd das potenziert sich noch einmal zusätzlich, um so mehr Personen auftreten. So dass*

es für mich nicht das ideale Modell geben kann (Interview 1, 486-497).

Diversity and differences in terms of repertoire III, then, can never be fixed. They are always in the making. Dealing with vagueness forms a crucial concern of the different conceptualizations. Likewise, the above-cited "changer of ends" gives account of his new experiences and projects. While pointing out many critical voices, he finally expresses a kind of "serenity":

> *Und da habe ich auch gemerkt, dass wirklich auch kritische Fragen gekommen sind, wo - - etwas ganz Banales, wo ich mir in meiner Entscheidung eigentlich nie bewusst gewesen bin, weil ich das Gefühl hatte, ich schaffe das so oder so: Was machst du, denn du scheiterst? Was machst du dann, vor allem, wo ich dann nach einem Jahr nicht zurück bin, was machst du jetzt, wenn du scheiterst, du kommst doch nie mehr in [die Branche] zurück. Du hast doch keine Chance mehr. Ich hab immer gesagt: ‚Schaut, ich habe mich für das entschieden, das ist vielleicht mutig gewesen. Und ich denke jetzt gar nicht so weit, ich will das jetzt durchziehen' (Interview 6, 351-361).*

In this sense, the third repertoire is marked by a rather relaxed tenor. Thus, the expert cited in the introduction of the "voices repertoire" states succinctly:

> *(S)agen wir einfach mal: ‚No news is good news'. Also, wenn wir was rausgeben und keiner motzt, dann ist es schon mal nicht schlecht. (Interview 19, 781f.)*

While keeping things in perspective, further, she still expresses her confidence. Several times she points out that she is "positiv [ge]stimmt" (Interview 19, 932). In short, she just knows that there is a great deal of work to do. Ultimately, her involvement does not seem to be very dependent either on the voices of the general doubters or on the encouragements of the management. In this sense, one might say that she is resisting the centre, confidently sticking to her philosophy:

> *Und ob 1000 Menschen so denken oder nur fünf, ist mir eigentlich wurst (Interview 19, 106f.).*

Making use of as well as enforcing and enriching the repertoire of *different voices within the overall organization*, then, is a matter of setting out on an unsettled journey, gaining new experiences, and negotiating their meaning right in the heart of the organization.

Having introduced the “ideal worker repertoire”, the “minorities repertoire”, and the “voices repertoire” structured around their main contents, assumptions, and target groups, in the following chapter these three sources of concept-making are discussed in particular in terms of their role within the organization and their potential for change.

6 Searching for potential for change: Organizations between stagnancy and movement

Initially, the project asked for current sources of concept-making and set its goal to identify available interpretative repertoires that speakers make use of when giving account of an HR or CSR measure. A further research question explicitly concerned the focus on the different functions and effects of the use of these language tools. In this vein, the project aimed to analyse what organizational positions the respective repertoires offer (or lock up) to the different HR and CSR endeavours (cf., chap. 3.3). Thus, it challenged the linguistic construction of their organizational role, their relevance, and further impact on organizations. In doing so, it explicitly asked whether the contemporary concepts entail alternative processes of concept-making that enable organizational change towards diversity and differences. Focusing on contemporary processes of stagnancy and movement, finally, the current chapter will elaborate the findings of this second discourse analytical step. It is structured around three sections, which will again reflect upon main points of the results. Within a first section, it tackles speakers’ dealings with organizational non-acceptance, stagnancy, and minor relevance of the analysed HR and CSR concepts (6.1). This will lead us to the next section, centring on consequences for the consumption of resources, the role of superiors and intermediaries, and associated assumptions on gratefulness (6.2). In illustrating challenges and obstacles of the analysed concepts, these first two sections prove to be mainly concerned with functions and effects of the “ideal worker repertoire” and the “minorities repertoire”. Finally, the third section reflects upon language patterns concerning the corporate cultural context. Acting as a more holistic, alternative approach towards diversity and differences, at this point the third repertoire will come to the fore. In this vein, section 6.3 will highlight achievements towards an integrative perspective on different individual, conceptual, organizational, and societal goals.

6.1 Wondering about non-acceptance and stagnancy: On business worlds and eternal bridesmaids

First of all, the data provide a variety of utterances referring to low acceptance, low sustainability, and stagnancy of the various HR and CSR concepts. Luxurious healthcare offerings, for instance, turn out to remain completely unused:

> *Schön. Es wird nicht genutzt, aber es ist schön [ironic laughter].- Nein! Es ist zu wenig. Ich kenne das [XXX] Schwimmbad, das ist dauernd leer. Für die Angehörigen ist es toll, wenn sie gehen dürfen [laughter] (Interview 18, 45-47).*

Just as the swimming pool is always empty or only seldom used by employees’ relatives, so too do endeavours in terms of volunteering fail to gain ground. Thus, in view of concepts like corporate volunteering, some voices point out, „dass viele Leute das gar nicht in Anspruch nehmen” (Interview 21, 119f.). Special granting of leave in order to back volunteering, for instance, turns out to barely obtain acceptance:

> *Das klingt ganz toll. Der Witz ist, dass es praktisch gar nicht beansprucht worden ist (Interview 21, 523f.).*

Likewise, with regard to new working time models such as job sharing in leading positions, the so-called "TopSharing" (cf., chap.2.1), experts cannot see a way to achieve implementation:

> *Was in der Literatur propagiert wird, bei [uns] funktioniert das nicht. Also, ich mag mich auch an die Befragung erinnern, das war nicht eines der beliebtesten Modelle bei UNS (Interview 16, 813-815).*

Regarding progress, then, the low acceptance provokes many reserved estimations:

> *Also, wir sind, wenn wir die Fortschritte im Diversity anschauen, natürlich noch Meilensteine zurück (Interview 16, 58f.).*

Consequently, vital illustrations of endeavours are often followed by rather deflated evaluations:

> *All das kam nicht, ich habe sie nicht erreicht (Interview 15, 229).*

Moreover, experts not only point out that the different endeavours are simply not used in terms of being "not needed". Rather, they also give account of active resistance that prevents their acceptance. In this vein, the interviewees stress that a model like the above-mentioned job sharing in leading positions is not only not accepted, but is even strictly refused. Enforcing a top sharing, then, proves to pose a huge struggle:

> *Wider allem Widerstand wollten wir diesen Pilot durchziehen. Und tatsächlich, es kam wie es kommen musste […]. Es zerfiel, es gab neue Stellen, das Topsharing wurde aufgelöst. Im Moment haben wir kein Topsharing-Paar in der Firma (Interview 14, 167-170).*

Even if measures are introduced and conceived of as promising in the beginning, shortly afterwards they turn out to lack sustainability. Summarizing the state of the respective measures often proves to be a matter of disappointment and retrogression rather than organizational change:

> *Und im letzten Jahr habe ich mal all diese Bemühungen, diese Seminare ein wenig gestoppt, um zu schauen, controllingmässig, was hat denn tatsächlich Fuss gefasst, […] da ist es wie versandet (Interview 14, 83-91).*

In this context, the crucial question becomes how to reach people and how to encourage them to accept the different measures:

> *[D]as Problem ist, wie kommt man an die Leute ran? (Interview 16, 581f.).*

In this vein, many of the experts act on the assumption that it is not so much a matter of raising funds and providing offers but about gaining acceptance:

> *Also ich denke, Angebote sind genug. […][D]as Problem ist, der Mitarbeiter muss das Angebot annehmen. Das ist eher das Problem (Interview 17, 107-109).*

No matter which of the concepts is discussed, it emerges that there are the same pressing issues in terms of their low acceptance. First of all, experts refer to many examples illustrating how little impact their endeavours have. Either one observes a very hesitant (often short-term) acceptance, or the concepts turn out to be completely ignored in the first place (which, after all, proves not to be the same "negative" answers). Either way, drawing on the two steps of a discourse analysis sensu Potter and Wetherell (1987), the different answers (or non-answers) to the variety of HR and CSR endeavours can be understood as different consequences of the three interpretative repertoires presented. Thus, in the following the functions and effects of the three repertoires will be analysed regarding the potential for change that they convey: What do they provide in terms of acceptance and non-acceptance, stagnation and movement?

First of all, drawing on the "ideal worker repertoire", potential for change seems not to be at stake at all. Since this repertoire refers to the concepts as sheer luxury, the different offers depend on the feasibility of spending some extra money. If it all comes down to the cost-benefit ratio, then, there is not much space left to shake things up – less then ever in times of economic shortage. Moreover, the different measures are not intended to have further impacts on the daily business anyway. Since they are understood as strictly private matters, they are geared towards the personal life of the "ideal employee". This is where they can provide an additional personal advantage. But since personal and business spheres are conceived of as strictly divided, even a vital change within either of them is not supposed to initiate change within the other (cf., chap. 5.1). Consequently, concepts modelled by means of the "ideal worker source" are conceived of as isolated nice perks. Drawing on the first repertoire, therefore, means constructing them as some bonus that does not have to reach the organization as a whole. From this perspective, the different HR and CSR endeavours may be able to make a contribution to the attractiveness of a company and the commitment of a functioning workforce. But they are *not* designed to instigate organizational change. On the contrary, they confirm the power of the centre and its "ideal worker", thus reproducing the status quo. If an offer turns out to be not accepted or if it has to be abolished, therefore, it merely takes a reference to the "hard" (i.e. economic) facts, a side note. In this context, it is often not so much a concern of how to encourage people to make use of a concept. Rather, it is a matter of how the different endeavours can reach the field of vision at all. The first repertoire, after all, gets along without further arguments as to why the concepts do not gain ground.

Interpretative repertoire II, on the other hand, explicitly points out the relevance of the different endeavours and regrets their difficult positions. Orienting matters in terms of the "minorities repertoire", then, the different concepts are not conceived of as fair-weather luxury but as a rather serious concern. Though the "minorities repertoire" entails requests to support the respective interests, it does not address how to enter the homogenous centre and make different voices heard. While pointing at clearly definable target groups, however, it often appeals to a social consciousness of a mature, integrated personality in general and people's common interests in particular (cf., chap. 5.2). Therefore, like-minded minority groups and people with "social competence" are called on to stick together and support each other. In this context, the challenge proves to be twofold: First of all, the second repertoire runs the risk of stigmatizing these groups as complementary to the centre and its "ideal worker". Thus, drawing on the "minorities source" implies standing up to the dominant centre in a David and Goliath type manner. Second, every concept (i.e.: perk for whoever is in need) has to compete with the misery of other "minority groups". Therefore, it has to position itself in the ranking list of "most pressing needs". Consequently, conceptualizations drawn from repertoire II are basically threatened by the economic arguments of the core business on the one hand, and on the other hand, they run the risk of stumbling across further interest groups. At best, the different endeavours manage to co-exist on the fringes. However, they are not accepted in terms of a free choice of virtually every employee, but rather by those who happen to be in the greatest need. Making use of an offer always acts as an emergency solution. While accepting the "fact" that they cannot be part of the centre of the system, minorities act from pure necessity. Those who have a choice, by contrast, carefully avoid being associated with such a measure and its associated negative images. In this vein, the positions left for the minority groups are still placed in the margins. Besides the powerful centre, there is little space to let others have their say. The "minorities repertoire", then, might enable an additional monologue. But it is *not* in a position to instigate a dialogue as a mutual basis for organizational change. Acting on the assumption that "business" is something strictly divided from "private preferences", "good deeds", and "special treatments", the respective measures turn out to remain on the fringes of the companies. They are not conceived of as a concern for potentially everybody. While catering to particular target groups and their specific needs, they prove to exist in a rather isolated fashion as selective measures and policies.

This dichotomy of the core business and social concerns proves to be taken for granted within both the first and the second interpretative repertoire. While the latter entails many elements that express regret and struggle with its supremacy, the former does not question this hegemony at all. In this vein, the low acceptance cannot only be understood as one and the same way of a "disinterested" or "negative" reaction. Whereas by means of the first repertoire, employees practically ignored the endeavours, acceptance in terms of the second repertoire proved to stem from two sources: People accepted and supported them either due to a general "social consciousness" or due to their own dependency. In this way, the different answers (or non-answers) to the analysed HR and CSR concepts can be traced back to the usage of different interpretative repertoires. Employees either do (or often do not) react to some additional fair-weather luxury, or they answer due to particular interests and pressing needs. Consequently, it becomes a matter of understanding the different goals of the measures. In terms of the first two repertoires, these goals have been analysed as a matter of image and public relations, a matter of a general social consciousness, or of a personal state of emergency. First of all, in terms of the "ideal worker repertoire", the implementation of the different HR and CSR measures did not act as a serious challenge at all. They were not meant to refer to a broader goal in terms of organizational change but to keep up with a trend. In this sense, the aim is achieved rather easily. From the viewpoint of the "minorities repertoire", however, there was a great deal to regret. As illustrated above, the goal was to soothe the suffering of people in need. In this context, the question at stake is how the well-meant endeavours can be supported and can gain ground. After all, each individual need stands against another, whereas the centre and its image of the "ideal worker" remained unchallenged. The "minorities repertoire" turns out to have no means to bridge this dichotomy. The "us against them logic" of the second repertoire, then, appears to flounder in a dead-end street (cf., chap. 5.2.3). Whenever the endeavours are meant to be justified to the centre of the organization, people drawing on this second source run out of arguments that might reach the very centre. Its perspective of the centre and its complete focus on numbers is conceived of as dichotomous to the personal or societal concern.[26] For instance, when it comes down to a careful cost-benefit analysis, therefore, new models of working time are necessarily doomed to failure:

> *Da kommen wir mit Work-Life-Balance,[…] und plötzlich sagen alle, ‚hört doch auf, man kann es ja gar nicht leben'. Und heute […] – wenn wir einen Job haben – arbeiten Arbeitnehmer 150 Prozent […]. Solange unser Unternehmen dreimal pro Jahr die Quartalsabschlüsse publizieren muss, sind alle einfach auf die Zahlen fokussiert (Interview 16, 322-334).*

Consequently, the adverbs "natürlich" and "einfach" can be referred to as characteristic elements of the first two interpretative repertoires. It is considered as just "natural" that a personal or pro-social concern "simply" cannot rank first. If it comes down to the question of having or loosing a job, nobody talks about alternative working models:

> *Und dann kamen wir […] in diese schwierige Situation, und da war das natürlich kein Thema mehr. Da hat man gesagt, jetzt müssen alle einfach 100 Prozent arbeiten. Es wollte auch niemand mehr, weil man war einfach froh, wenn man den Job behalten konnte (Interview 16, 395-407).*

In this vein, it goes without saying that whenever „jemand unter Druck kommt, dann besinnt man sich auf die Grundbedürfnisse" (Interview X, 647f.). In times of shortage, a company has to focus on its basic requirements. Thereby, in the sense of a Maslowian hierarchy of needs, people draw on the assumption that financial needs are for a company that which physiological needs are for a human being. Against the backdrop of the "ideal worker", then, such "basic requirements" certainly do not entail

[26] Thereby, the personal and societal concern can also be constructed as a dichotomy. Then, a measure is either geared towards personal demands (in terms of human resource management), or as a societal matter (in terms of corporate social responsibility).

other ways of working. A rethinking of models of working time is kept strictly apart from "what really counts" (in terms of the centre and its "ideal workforce"). It is conceived of as just disposable. As a consequence, current constructions of organizational "basic requirements" turn out to be constantly reproduced, including a quasi-objective definition of what a 100 percent working time constitutes. The endeavours are referred to as a side issue, a "Randthema":

> *[D]as hängt auch damit zusammen, dass gewisse Themen jetzt brach gelegen sind, weil die Führungsstrukturen auch gewechselt haben [...], dass wir so Randthemen, die einfach nicht jetzt gerade für das Geschäft unbedingt nötig sind, immer wieder an den Rand drängen (Interview 21, 148-152).*

In this spirit, it is taken for granted that HR and CSR concepts act as a matter of secondary importance. Consequently, these building blocks of conversation imply how the stagnancy of the different measures should be tolerated. Since non-acceptance or stagnancy of an endeavour is conceived of as unavoidable due to the economic trend, everybody has to put up with it – whether they like it or not. But then, making this (often implicit) assumption explicit often proves to provoke an oscillating repertoire use. The following citation illustrates how the dominating repertoire can be annulled for a short period:

> *[Das] sind natürlich schon schwierige Jahre [...] gewesen, mit der ganzen Restrukturierung. Viele Mitarbeiter haben entlassen [werden] müssen oder sind auch von selber gegangen [...] und da hat sich natürlich jeder mit solchen Programmen auch zurückgehalten. Also die, die wirklich nicht zum alltäglichen Geschäft – obwohl Sozialkompetenz gehört zum alltäglichen Geschäft –, aber das sind so diese, ich sag jetzt mal so Luxusmodule (Interview 20, 96-103).*

Starting from the first repertoire, the cited argument finally comes to an explicit formulation of what can be considered as really important and what not. This "pro-social stimulation" provokes a sudden shift of the frame of reference, leading to the parenthesis within the third sentence. After all, the sentence continues by means of the first repertoire constructing the programs as "Luxusmodule", as mere luxury again.

Such a conflicting variability can be referred to as that which Billig had called an "ideological dilemma" (cf., chap. 3). In this vein, a discourse analytic approach is able to pinpoint the ways in which speakers deal with such contradictions when giving account of the different HR and CSR concepts. Against the background of personal or societal needs, people draw on the source of the second repertoire and express their commitment to the current concepts. In terms of the division of personal (or societal) and business matters, they can consistently argue in favour of the "soft factors"[27] or societal needs. But in focusing on concrete business, they shift to the first repertoire and its "hard economic facts", thereby accomplishing a consistent account again. Modelled on an unquestioned pre-eminence of a dichotomously constructed centre, the different endeavours always remain eternal bridesmaids. There is no doubt about how to rank the priorities:

> *Es IST ein wichtiges Thema, das ist klar. - Es ist wichtig. Und ich jedenfalls, wie gesagt, ich unterstütze das voll und ganz. - - Aber, wie gesagt, im Geschäftsalltag, da kommen natürlich andere Fragen zuerst, die haben dann einfach Vorrang. Das ist so, das muss man ganz klar sehen (Interview 10, 312-316).*

Despite the emphasis on pro-social concerns, for the sake of the sphere of business, these issues are forced back to the sidelines. In this sense, such an oscillating repertoire use is able to provide a comprehensible account that is widely accepted since it is culturally shared. Since personal and societal issues are always constructed as dichotomous to the core business and its "basic requirements", however, these repertoires offer no way of overcoming the underlying ideological dilemmas. In the end, non-acceptance and stagnancy of the different HR and CSR endeavours may be taken calmly, enthusiastically, or regretfully – arguments drawn from the "luxury"- or the "interests repertoire" do not provide the grounds with which to challenge it.

6.2 Being grateful for perks: On dependencies and the role of intermediaries

Current HR and CSR concepts modelled on the first two interpretative repertoires proved to be subordinate to the dichotomous spheres of personal or societal affairs on

---

[27] At this point, one might enter into a more general discussion regarding the proportion to which current discourses of "social competences" reflect assumptions of what a "core business" constitutes.

the one hand and economic concerns on the other. Within a clearly hierarchical structure, the latter turned out to be conceived of as superior to the former. Whereas the first repertoire accepted this quasi-objective “fact” rather calmly, the second repertoire proved to either regret the impassibility or to fight against it by opposing other (still hierarchical) orders of which interest comes first. Either way, issues directly relating to the economic core business were seen as inevitably forced to eclipse personal and societal issues. In this sense, the usage of one of the endeavours is inevitably linked to an exhaustion of the company’s resources. With regard to expensive procurements such as the latest health and fitness trends and the accompanying services or extensive childcare arrangements, the investment stands out all the more. Therefore, making use of such an expensive offer entails different implications. First, against the backdrop of the “ideal worker repertoire”, it means enriching oneself on a personal basis. This might be economically justifiable in better times. In uncertain times, as chapter 5.1 illustrated, it is conceived of as simply selfish and inappropriate – an image which, as a matter of course, the “ideal worker” is anxious to avoid. Second, modelled on the “minorities repertoire”, the usage implies receiving a piece of the small action of charity. On the one hand, this implies and manifests a shortcoming that “diverse people” have. On the other hand, competing for being the neediest group provokes conflicts of interests among the “needy” target groups themselves. Being different is not simply a matter of course. It is private. Thus, the concern may by with charity or luxury, but there is no way to overcome and bridge those dichotomies. Since the concepts are not embedded within a broader context, they turn out to stagnate on the fringes.

As a further consequence, the “promotion” of an HR or a CSR measure proves to depend on singular intermediaries. Therefore, persons in charge find themselves fighting on two fronts when trying to implement a measure. On the one hand, they have to win over enough participants. In this vein, the previous section illustrated the experts’ struggle to encourage people to make use of the different offers. In view of organizational distrust, on the other hand, representatives have to cope with direct resistance from the centre itself. They always have to justify their (resource-consuming) endeavours to the management.[28] Thus, one of the experts gives account of her effort to win participants over to a new program and to avoid fuelling distrust on the part of the management:

> *Obwohl ich es extra niederschwellig aufgebaut habe, weil man von seinem Computer aus irgendwann, auch von zu Hause aus, mit dem Passwort alle diese Tests machen konnte. Man musste nicht mehr sagen, Chef, ich bin zwei Stunden weg, weil ich zu [der Expertin] in einen Kurs gehe, und der denkt, die wieder, was die eigentlich im Schilde führt (Interview 15, 224-229).*

Referring to an "us against them rhetoric" (cf., chap. 5.2), the presence and commitment of experts as intermediaries, then, becomes the determining factor for the realization of each concept:

> *Ich hab das ja erzählt von der Gleichstellungsbeauftragten hier, klar, für die sind Leute wie ich total wichtig, um da einfach auch einmal mehr Rechte für Frauen durchsetzen zu können. Und die setzt sich eben total ein, da ist ein echtes Engagement dahinter, das kann man gut spüren (Interview 2, 304-309).*

In this sense, policies are achieved by means of liaising with the respective interest group and its representatives. As soon as the intermediary drops out, however, the fragile conjunction with the centre is cut off. The well-meant endeavour simply ends up in smoke. Consequently, experts stress that the acceptance of each HR and CSR measure depends on their constant interventions. Then, an implementation might prosper tentatively. But as soon as the intermediary no longer actively presses ahead with it, „wenn KEIN Input kommt, wenn nicht immer wieder ein Signal kommt" (Interview 15, 113f.), the endeavour is doomed to failure:

> *Dadurch dass ich die Seminare nicht mehr angeboten habe und am Morgen die Begrüssung gemacht habe und die Grussbotschaft von der Geschäftsleitung überbracht und am Abend das Feedback, das ich nach oben transportieren möchte, eingesammelt habe, haben die Leute nicht mehr den Mut gehabt, das auch einzufordern (Interview 15, 86-91).*

---

[28] It may become clear that these two "different" challenges can be traced back to the same (i.e., corporate cultural) source (cf. below).

Thus, in order to take up one of the (often abstract) HR and CSR concepts, employees seem to require constant encouragement. The reason for this can be traced back to the (implicit) assumptions of the first and the second interpretative repertoire, which were illustrated above. Making use of any of the singular measures and policies means consuming precious resources while investing in personal or societal concerns. Thus, benefiting on a personal basis or providing good (societal) deeds inevitably turned out to conflict with the hegemony of the economic centre. In this vein, a program like "SideSwitch" proves to be difficult to justify:

> *Vielleicht kommt etwas rüber, das ist gut, aber das ist keine Investition in dem Sinn wie ein, zum Beispiel ein Bankfachlehrekurs oder ein Devisenkurs oder ich weiss nicht was für einer, wo sie gezielt eine Woche lang irgend etwas bringen müssen und am Schluss gibt es noch einen Abschluss, wo das belegt wird, der Kandidat, der hat so und so viele Punkte und erfolgreich bestanden. So einen Beweis gibt es nicht […]. [M]einem Vorgesetzten kann ich nicht sagen, […] es wird besser gehen, oder es wird anders laufen" (Interview 7, 452-466).*

The "fact" that there are no figures to provide conflicts with the dichotomously constructed understanding of cost-benefit calculations. However, the latter still provides the unquestioned frame of reference. Employees are required to fit in and speak the homogenous business language. Organizations „sind ja so im Tages[geschäft] drin und so aggressiv und es muss alles mit Zahlen belegt sein" (Interview 19, 264f.). As illustrated above, within a centre-based argument, effects are only "detectable" if one can tie down the "hard facts". Against the backdrop of the first two repertoires, then, negotiations for resources, charity, and special treatments are conceived of as an awkward undertaking. Consequently, people do not want to be left to their own (deficient) devices. The more employees have the feeling that the company might mistrust the whole venture, the more they depend upon the constant support and assurance of an institutionalised intermediary.

Attempting to discern the outcome of a pro-social endeavour by means of a centre-focused language is doubtlessly a bold venture. It always lacks precise numbers. There are no such things as "klare[], nennbare Zahlen" (Interview 20, 372f.). And since the notion of "hard facts" proved to be always constructed as dichotomous to the "soft factors" and "pro-social concerns", there can never be an adequate calculation. Even if researchers measured a quantitative output, they would still be measuring the quantitative output of a “soft factor”, a “Luxusmodul”.

Referring to the language tools of the centre and its construction of “hard facts”, then, the well-meant “Sozialromantik” (Interview 21, 463) of HR and CSR endeavours is inevitably deemed to be inappropriate. Due to this shortcoming, any employee capitalizing on an offer is challenged to give justifications again and again:

> *[D]as hängt wieder damit zusammen, dass man sämtliche Weiterbildungsbegehren natürlich – auch wenn das die Ausbildungsabteilung anbietet – seinem eigenen Chef verkaufen muss. Also jetzt sind sie im Druck […] und sie gehen jetzt zu ihrem [Vorgesetzten] und sagen, ich will da eine Woche in eine soziale Institution. Da müssen sie schon sehr überzeugt sein und müssen auch quasi die Gewinne für sich wie fürs Unternehmen schon benennen können, dass der Chef dann auch auf das eingeht. Schon alleine die Phantasie, die Antizipation, was sage ich das dann, da gehe ich viel lieber einen Kurs, der ‚effizient arbeiten' heisst oder ‚wie fördere ich meine Mitarbeiter' oder was auch immer (Interview 21, 422-432).*

The lack of economic justification marks an inevitable stumbling block of every HC and CSR endeavour modelled on the first two interpretative repertoires. Representatives of public relations or human resource management might have listed some euphonic arguments that refer to the societal zeitgeist. But these very arguments do not speak the language of “real business”. Negotiating with one's superior means talking business – which is understood in diametrical opposition. As soon as employees have to argue with their superiors, then, a strong argument turns into an inappropriate “Sozialromantik”. The sources of the first two repertoires cannot be of help in bridging this gap. People are left with a crisis of conscience about drawing on an organizational offer and asserting their interests. Since the (publicly advertised) offers do not speak the language of the centre of the company, employees are afraid of upsetting their superior:

> *Dabei ist es aber auch noch die grosse Frage, wie der Chef das sieht. Das muss man natürlich auch sagen. Wenn der das nicht gut findet, dann kann die Firma noch so viel von Health Care und solchen Sachen reden, dann bleibt das graue Theorie. Weil, DEM gegenüber muss man die Sache vertreten können. Die Firma ist letztlich schon eher - - anonym, sag ich jetzt mal […].Also, wenn DAS nicht ist, dann ist es wie gesagt, dann ist das Health Care eben graue Theorie, oder, klar, für das Image, das macht sich gut, aber bringen tut es einem dann wenig, würde ich sagen (Interview 10, 249-265).*

No matter which HR or CSR endeavour a company might officially exhibit, against the backdrop of the first two repertoires their justification proves to be doomed. When it comes to the superior and the language sources of the centre, employees always run the risk of their arguments encountering resistance:

> *Das heisst, es hängt auch damit zusammen, dass Mitarbeitende auf der einen Seite sagen, ich will das jetzt nicht überbeanspruchen, weil ich das meinem Chef verkaufen muss, auch wenn das der HR-Chef möglich macht, ich muss meinem Chef verkaufen, dass ich jetzt eine Woche freiwillig etwas mache. Da weiss ich nicht, ob das so gut ankommt. Also das ist wieder die interne Zensur (Interview 21, 524-530).*

Employees feel a "censorship" in the dark. When it comes to making use of one of the concepts, therefore, they prove to be very unsure. Thus, it turns out that upsetting the superior is a common fear of the "applicants":

> *Ob sie nicht motiviert sind oder ob sie denken, das will ich schon gar nicht meinen Chef fragen, weil das nach Desinteresse klingen könnte, ich VERMUTE, dass der Faktor auch eine Rolle spielt. Dass man auch nicht Privates einbringen will, wenn man schon genug Probleme zu lösen hat […] und dann will man nicht noch zusätzlich den Chef in Anführungs-, Schlusszeichen verärgern (Interview 21, 120- 125).*

In this vein, it is not easy to approach the subject, „sich überhaupt mal ranzutrauen an so einen Gedanken, wenn man natürlich im Nacken sitzen hat, ‚oh, der Chef, der hält dich jetzt für einen Waschlappen'" (Interview 12, 389-391):

> *[Beim] Chef […], da weisst du ja noch nicht mal, ob der das überhaupt unterstützt oder ob er denkt: ‚Na so ein Verräter, jetzt rennt der auch noch da hin' (Interview 12, 338-340).*

Face to face with the superior, featuring the centre language of "hard facts", fancy notions of "diversity" and "social consciousness" start to fade. The people concerned find themselves faced with the homogenous voice of the centre again. Within the dominant centre of the organization, there is no space to develop an "other" voice. Thus, employees are not supposed to enter into a dialogue. Running the risk of "betraying" their superior, they prefer to keep their "deviations" from the norm a secret.

Otherwise, they would have to hazard the consequences of pricing themselves out of the market:

> *[U]nd dann irgendwann sagen sie es in einem Projektteam oder so. Und dann kommt dann eine Antwort: ‚Ah ja, kann man denn ihren Job überhaupt Teilzeit machen? Und der hat gerade gesagt: ‚Ich mache es schon fünf Jahre!' Es hat einfach keinen Platz, man kann es sich nicht vorstellen. Es gibt auch […] Vorgesetzte, die[…] machen so Fehler, dass sie in einer Sitzung oder sogar bei einem Apéro oder so einfach mal fallen lassen: ‚Ja, also bei mir, bei uns im Bereich kann ich mir das schwerlich vorstellen.' Und solche Sätze, die sind tödlich, weil wir doch sehr hierarchisch sind. Das heisst, ein Untergebener, der das mitbekommt, speichert das sofort ab und weiss – negativ (Interview 19, 565-574).*

Thus, employees anticipate that there is simply no space to give voice to "deviations" from the image of an "ideal worker". Be it an "other" (personal) experience, an "other" sexual or religious orientation, an "other" (personal) obligation or an "other" physical status, they feel themselves forced to hide and adapt these aspects as well as possible rather than to voice them. Thereby, the previous citation illustrates the extent to which the possibility of being heard depends upon the (anticipated) stance of singular key figures. In this sense, experts highlight how superiors in terms of "pioneers" can back the endeavours:

> *Und wenn wir schauen über die ganze Firma hier in der Schweiz zumindest: Wo sind die Teleworker? Wo sind die Teilzeitleute? Dann sind die sehr geclustert. Und sie sind nicht dort geclustert, wo es geht, vom Machbaren. Sie sind dort, wo die Köpfe sind, die das denken können, die Vorgesetzten. Dort wird es bewilligt, dort funktioniert es und in anderen Bereichen funktioniert es nicht (Interview 19, 329-334).*

If it all comes down to the anticipated attitude of particular superiors, the focus shifts from a social interaction to the respective character of an executive and his or her "personal" interests, values and attitudes. Consequently, employees count themselves lucky if their superior draws on similar values or belongs to the same interest group. Be it a shared interest in a hobby, a similar family status, or a mutual approval of humanistic or Christian values –since "birds of a feather flock together", employees might be supported by their like-minded superior in this case:

Und da hab ich auch Glück […], dass mein Chef - er ist selbst so ein Sportsfan, er sieht das gerne, dass wir uns fit halten, das ist für ihn jedenfalls etwas wirklich - - Positives. Er hat jahrelang auch Kampfsport, nicht Taekwondo, aber Karate betrieben, betätigt sich auch jetzt noch sportlich – oder wie es eben irgendwie geht. So gesehen muss man sagen, da schwimmt man sozusagen auf einer Wellenlänge […]. Doch, also, ich würde das schon so sagen, das ist schon eine Unterstützung. - - Oder dass es ihm gefällt, wenn die Firma zum Beispiel an einem Marathon teilnimmt, wenn man spürt, dass er selber da einen Ehrgeiz hat, dass man gut ist, das man sich gut präsentiert. Das ist ja auch ein Ansporn, ganz klar (Interview 10, 254-287).

With regard to this citation, the employee proves to be very glad about "being on the same wavelength" with his superior. They are both sports fans. The reason for support, however, cannot be traced back to broader cultural foundations in terms of basing interaction on diversity and differences. Rather, it stems from an arbitrary similarity concerning common interests. If one of the two speakers were – say – an older disabled person, the points of contact would be abruptly withdrawn. Acceptance, then, is left to chance. Likewise, with regard to new working models, an expert refers to the "goodwill" of the particular superior:

Also was es noch zu den innovativen Arbeitsmodellen zu sagen gibt: Glücklicherweise haben wir deren schon einige. ABER sie sind im Moment wirklich von dem […] individuellen Handling des jeweiligen Vorgesetzten abhängig. Das heisst, es ist Goodwill abhängig. Jemand will das und hat das Gefühl, doch, ich möchte diese Frau nicht verlieren, deshalb organisiere ich mich jetzt im Team anders (Interview 16, 431-436).

Employees who are able to make use of an offer, therefore, are very grateful if they happen to receive individual sympathy. Drawing on the first two repertoires, they get more than they can ever expect. Therefore, employees keep emphasizing their gratefulness. Modelled on the first repertoire, for instance, the sporty "young potential" proves to be very grateful that he can make use of organizational healthcare services:

Aber gerade deshalb finde ich es einfach toll, wenn ein Unternehmen sogar noch das unterstützt, indem es eben diese Health Care Angelegenheiten anbietet. Dass sogar daran auch noch gedacht wird (Interview 10, 104-107).

In this vein, his sporting activities and the time arrangements are conceived of as the best possible conditions:

> *[I]ch bin jetzt schon einmal froh, dass es überhaupt alles so machbar ist. Das wäre ja vor zwei Jahren noch hätte ich mir das jedenfalls niemals träumen lassen. So gesehen hab ich nicht die Erwartung, dass sich da wahnsinnig viel ändern wird - - zumindest in der nächsten Zeit. Es ist halt, wie gesagt, das ist ja ganz klar, es steht hier immer etwas an […], da gibt es keine Zeit zu verschenken. Und […] ich geniesse das ja auch, das Vorankommen, das berufliche. Das ist mir persönlich auch etwas ganz Wichtiges. Darum geht es ja letztendlich […]. Und wenn DANN noch, wenn es dann auch noch möglich ist, mich genügend sportlich zu betätigen, dann ist das ja so gesehen schon mehr, als man eigentlich verlangen kann […]. Man kann natürlich nie alles haben, natürlich wäre es schön, noch mehr Zeit für den Sport zu haben, aber das sind dann natürlich die Kompromisse, die man auch weiterhin eingeht, die man ja auch GERNE eingeht (Interview 10, 343-365).*

While drawing on current discourses of well-being (Sointu, 2005) as well as on aspects of competitiveness, this employee had given account of the relevance that sport has in his life. Against the backdrop of the dominant "ideal worker repertoire", however, this ambition plays a very subordinated role. Ultimately, health (or: stress, burn out, and illness) is conceived of as something "private" that has no place within the business sphere. Being able to compromise about this dichotomy, then, is considered as a sheer luxury due to his superior's attitude. Likewise, drawing on the "minorities repertoire", an older woman with physical problems keeps expressing her gratefulness. Since she conceives of her "deviation" as a private matter that should not be given voice within the company, she appreciates the social consciousness of single actors very much:

> *Und dass es dann Leute gibt, die das Problem sehen und einem irgendwie dabei helfen oder dass etwas angeboten wird, was eine Erleichterung ist oder was er überhaupt erst möglich macht, dass man nicht ganz aufhören muss zu arbeiten, wie jetzt für mich die Möglichkeit, Teilzeit zu arbeiten, das ist etwas, wo man sehr dankbar sein muss. Weil wie gesagt, Gesunde brauchen das alles nicht, sie wollen da nicht, eigentlich wollen sie da nicht darüber reden, sie sind ja gesund und für sie ist das - - - es ist einfach nicht ihre Welt […]. Aber deshalb bin ich so dankbar, dass es Menschen gibt, die sich trotzdem - - die einfach so ein grosses Herz haben, dass sie sagen, wir dürfen es nicht vergessen, dass diese alten Leute oder diese Kranken*

auf unsere Hilfe angewiesen sind, deshalb bete ich für diese Menschen (Interview 9, 204-217).

Gratefulness becomes a crucial element of the “ideal worker repertoire” and – due to the extent of neediness – especially of the “minorities repertoire”. In this context, participating employees do not talk about what they can give, but about what they take:

> *Aber ich weiss auch, dass viele Leute [...]darauf warten, eine Arbeit zu bekommen. Und die sind jung und gesund und die können meine Arbeit sicher besser machen und schneller machen und sind auch flexibler. Wissen Sie, wenn man alt wird, da macht einfach alles nicht mehr so mit, man wird ja auch vergesslicher, man hat Schmerzen, man will auch nicht mehr so viel, man kann nicht mehr so viel leisten, und da denke ich sollte man nicht mehr allzu lange einen Arbeitsplatz blockieren (Interview 9, 232-239).*

From this point of view, older or disabled persons can only receive while obstructing the core business. But they have nothing to give. This confirms and reproduces the dichotomous spheres of “(pro)social perks” and “soft factors” on the one hand and economic “hard facts” and “basic requirements” on the other.

6.3 Overcoming dichotomous realms: On corporate culture and ongoing change

The previous section pointed out the gap between the stance of public relations or singular interest groups and their representatives on the one hand, and the core business including the stance of the superior on the other hand. Depending on which repertoire the interviewees drew on, this dichotomy was either merely tolerated or was conceived of as a salient challenge. In either case, the fortune of the different HR and CSR endeavours depended on the respective stance and commitment of particular key figures. Within the “voices repertoire”, by contrast, the focus shifts from singular personalities and their interests or values to genuine social processes within an organization. In this context, the superior also comes to the fore. But in terms of repertoire III, the superior is not approached as a (selective) key figure with particular attitudes. Rather, the focus is geared towards the mutual processes of sense-making.

Centring on processes of social negotiation, then, increases awareness of the social interactions taking place against a broader corporate cultural background. In this vein, the “voices repertoire” stresses the interaction that can take place between employees and their superiors as one of many other constellations in-between.

The perspective on corporate culture comes to the fore within a variety of remarks gathered within the different interviews. Initially, most of these remarks refer to assumptions that the current corporate culture was incompatible with the respective HR and CSR endeavours:

> *Wenn das nicht irgendwo ein Stückweit – ich sag jetzt mal – salonfähig wird, dann ist es tabu. Nicht existent. Punkt (Interview 12, 396f.).*

Without an affirmative corporate cultural foundation, the different endeavours represent – as this manager puts it in terms of healthcare concepts – a taboo. Furthermore, the discussion of the above-mentioned top-sharing and its conflicts with executives and corporate culture might provide an illustration of processes of negotiation that are understood as dependent on the superior and the top management:

> *[W]ir sind ein sehr fortschrittlicher Arbeitgeber, aber diese SHARING- Idee, die funktioniert unternehmenskulturell bei uns nicht […]. Und dann war darin noch die Forderung, FÜHRUNG zu teilen, top! Und das war für alle undenkbar […].Wir als Firma sagen, wir bieten die Möglichkeit dazu. Aber in der Realität den Schritt zu machen, wenn sich ein 100 Prozent oder eine 100 Prozent Arbeitstätige zur Verfügung stellt, dann sind wir noch nicht soweit, dass das automatisch greift (Interview 14, 152-180).*

Although applicants prove to be very interested, they are rejected by superiors and the (top) management, which proves to adhere to the standard working model. In search of potential to challenge the underlying images of the “ideal worker”, therefore, the focus is geared towards the role of management:

> *[Es] bewerben sich viele Leute gezielt auf Sharing-Situationen hin […], in der Gesellschaft ist es ein durchaus valables Modell, das man leben möchte[…]. Das sind die Rückmeldungen von HR-Managern, die sagen, […] ich habe schon wieder eine Bewerbung für ein Top- oder Jobsharing […]. Und dann schau ich’s mir an, und besprech und schau mit der Linie, und dann sind alle mal, jetzt so erstinstanzlich,*

KÖNNTE man ja. Und dann sage ich: ‚Ja, aber lasst uns doch einen Pilotversuch machen […]. Sie haben nichts zu verlieren, aber sie haben sicher allen eine Chance gegeben, einmal etwas Neues kennenzulernen.' Und dann, irgendwie, heisst es immer: ‚Aber die Person mit 100 Stellenprozent, die war einfach doch noch ein bisschen peppiger oder bissiger, oder mehr auf unsere Arbeit zugeschnitten, wir haben uns entschieden!' – Da zerfällt's (Interview 14, 174-196).

Thus, the expert gives account of a growing demand for alternative working models as, in this case, a top-sharing. But whenever she tries to support a potential top-sharing pair, the endeavour is ultimately doomed to failure as a result of the centre-focused management and its adherence to the status quo:

Ich habe in der Geschäftsleitung mal gefragt, wie sie sich zu Top- und Jobsharing stellen würden, ob das für SIE denkbar wäre. Und alle haben jovial gesagt, weil das ja modern ist: ‚Natürlich würden wir das unterstützen, tolle neue Arbeitsform, versuchen Sie's mal.' – ‚Denken Sie, IHR Job ist teilbar?' – ‚Wo DENKEN Sie HIN? Auf keinen Fall!' […] Und sie waren ABSOLUT überzeugt, von tief drinnen (Interview 14, 218-233).

From this perspective, the fortune of each of the HR and CSR measures is clearly a matter of the top management. Likewise, some voices stress that it forms the most profound obstacle „wenn Sie Diversity bottom up machen und nicht top down, also wenn das Topmanagement nicht so absolut Fan Ihrer Tätigkeit ist" (Interview 16, 830-832). Thus, the support of the executive board is conceived of as a crucial factor in order to enable potential for change:

Und da, denke ich, wäre zum Beispiel eine Positionierung auf Geschäftsleitung - im Moment sind die Prioritäten ein bisschen anders - wenn diese Positionierung noch ein bisschen prominenter wäre und wir analog jetzt [den CEO] als Sponsor hätten, der eben flächendeckend in einem Mail an Mitarbeitende seine Bekenntnis zur Diversity outet, dann hat man schon extreme Hebel (Interview 16, 582-587).

In this vein, several experts stress how much they appreciate it if HR and CSR endeavours are supported by the management in general:

Er [a top manager] hat ja jetzt auch auf dem Intranet zum Beispiel eine Seite […] und da hat er letztens auch Diversity gebracht. Und *dann sagt er: ‚Ja, es ist schon wichtig für unsere Kunden bla, bla, bla, und […] am SCHLUSS sagt er dann: ‚It is just the right thing to do!' Und wenn man weiss, was Aussprüche von hohen Männern dieser Firma bedeuten, dann kann man es gar nicht richtig wertschätzen, was das bedeutet (Interview 19, 257-264).*

One might be tempted to say it in a (superficial) nutshell:

Der oberste CEO findet das gut. Die Geschichte läuft (Interview 13, 354f.).

Shedding light on these (rather one-sided) processes, then, can be regarded as a helpful contribution from among many others in order to discuss the concepts against the backdrop of broader corporate cultural foundations. At the same time, it tackles salient questions of hierarchy. Since the companies are conceived of as very hierarchical, highlighting the role of (top) management might act as an obvious point of departure. However, one might continue to speculate about the consequences of putting so much emphasis on the role of management. How much competence, one might ask, does this ascribe to an individual? How much agency does this leave to a "non-key figure"? These questions are vital, and thus explicitly arise in connection with several of the HR and CSR concepts analysed. In terms of "SideSwitch" and its exclusive target group, for instance, one of the experts considers the following:

Man KÖNNTE natürlich durchaus argumentieren und sagen: ‚Okay, ist ja schön, wenn die Führungskräfte sozialer denken, ABER, wie ist es denn, wenn die Leute auf der mittleren Stufe, die Leute auf der unteren Stufe das nicht tun? - - Es kann ja auch eine Blockade von unten nach oben geben" (Interview 13, 483-487).

Conceiving of sense-making-processes in terms of the different concepts not only as a one-sided hierarchy but rather as an interplay of a variety of voices, the reason for non-acceptance cannot only be traced back to the perspective on management. Rather, it becomes a perspective on the organization as a whole. Consequently, one might further ask why a sabbatical is exclusively geared towards executive positions. Do blue-collar workers not also need a chance to take a break, to reinvent themselves? Ultimately, the question remains how a concept can manage to enter (and to change) a whole culture by explicitly including some target groups and excluding others. This reinforces a crucial point of the present project: In order to unfold the potential for change of the different measures, they have to be read against the same background. Whether the concern is with "healthcare", "volunteering", or "diversity" - no matter which of the measures is at stake, their functions and effects can never be discussed within the walls of singular arenas.

In this sense, the question of the "voices repertoire" is not whether a singular concept should be promoted *either* bottom-up *or* top-down. Rather, it is about connecting things and making them heard in *every* direction. Moving beyond deadlocked categories and dichotomies therefore enables an understanding of differences not as a shortcoming, but as a creative given. Making room for them means setting out for new paths. This concern entails a call for displaying courage and getting creative:

> *Und da ist es unser Bestreben […] Mut zu machen oder auch Unterstützung zu bieten, oder einfach mal zu sagen: ‚Es geht […] bei der ganzen Teilzeitdiskussion grundsätzlich […] nicht immer nur um weniger arbeiten, sondern man muss ein bisschen kreativ und schlau werden. Es geht um anders arbeiten!' […] HÄUFIG geht es in der ganzen Problematik wirklich darum,[…] den Leuten mal eine andere Optik aufzuzeigen. Eben, es geht um anders arbeiten […]. Und dann ist dieses ganze 'ich muss von acht bis sechs hier sein, sonst arbeite ich Teilzeit', dann hat man einen Teil dieser Diskussion bereits erledigt (Interview 16, 190-202).*

Thus, the target is no longer seen as a mere arrangement in the sense of enforcedly settling for less. Rather, the emphasis is placed on experimentation and ongoing processes. In this vein, "anders arbeiten" means exploring new avenues and fostering organizational change. With regard to individual changes, of course, the feedback can differ greatly. For instance, the introduced former "ideal worker" who gave up his business career and started working with disabled people gave account of many discussions with former colleagues, acquaintances and friends, and resumes:

> *[D]as [Feedback] ist natürlich enorm gewesen. Von Leuten, die gesagt haben, ‚hey, du hast es verstanden, du hast den Mut zu gehen' […], von Leuten, die das Ganze mit Kopfschütteln begleitet haben und gesagt haben, ‚hey spinnst du denn eigentlich'? (Interview 6, 316-320).*

Likewise, the manager who found himself faced with Menière's disease points out the challenges of dealing with (anticipated or actual) responses within his company. Thus, he illustrates what it took for him to reflect upon the power of the centre, to break through the routine business, and change his life:

> *Da brauchst du gute Hilfe, kompetente Hilfe, […] Leute, die dich unterstützen, dich verstehen […] aber vor allem brauchst du das Vertrauen in dich selbst, in deine Kräfte, und auch den Mut, das nach aussen hin zu vertreten, auch dazu zu stehen, dass du halt nicht einfach nur perfekt funktionierst, dass sich etwas ändern muss (Interview 12, 153-160).*

In this vein, voicing one's "fractions of otherness" implies calling for courage, support, and responsibility for oneself. Consequently, experts no longer conceive of themselves as intermediaries but aim at becoming redundant:

> *Was mir besonders wichtig ist, ist, dass nicht der Eindruck entsteht, da gibt es eine Frau [name of the interviewee] und die schmeisst das alles. Das ist nämlich völlig realitätsfremd. Die kann vielleicht gut reden. Aber wichtig ist zu schauen, dass vielleicht eine Initiative zustande kommt und wenn sie zustande kommt, dort zu unterstützen und wenn sie aufhört zu schauen, was passiert jetzt" (Interview 19, 962-972).*

"Doing diversity", for instance, is no longer seen as a task that can be performed by isolated key figures. In this sense, the quoted diversity expert continues to stress that persons in charge „sollten die Dinge nicht umsetzen, nicht Hand anlegen, nicht selber die Figur sein, [denn] andere müssen die Figuren sein, das ist sehr wichtig" (Interview 19, 976-978):

> *Es geht nicht darum, dass ich selber eine Welt kreiere, sonst kreiere ich die Produkte selber. Sondern man muss eigentlich hingehen und die Anderen dazu bewegen, es zu tun (Interview 19, 227-230).*

This illustrates the general emphasis of the third repertoire on social processes, conceived of as taking place in-between a variety of different voices. Finally, this leads to the core statement of the presented project that has addressed the impact of contemporary HR and CSR constructions: Potential for change can be propounded if the aim is to reach the corporate culture as an ongoing stream of social negotiations and, therefore, to embrace diversity and differences as – to put it paradoxically – common ground. By approaching the concepts in view of this broader goal, the "voices repertoire" bridges the different measures and gathers them right in the heart of the centre. Reaching any achievements, then, always includes the aim „dass die Welt nicht in segregistische Teilwelten auseinander fällt, sondern […] dass das soziale Umfeld, das uns umgibt, AUCH ins Unternehmen hereinkommt und dass man mit dem umzugehen lernt und das nicht heraushält" (Interview 21, 472-475).

Moreover, in bridging the dichotomies of personal, business, and societal spheres, interpretative repertoire III does not necessarily have to conflict with a traditional economical argumentation. There are many different speculations regarding this issue. Representatives of the different HR and CSR concepts tend to underline the great economic benefits. Either way, the third repertoire takes these cost-benefit calculations and their notions of "basic requirements" and "returns of investment" to higher levels:

> *Es hängt nicht einfach von der Leistungsorientierung ab, aber [schwer wird es bei dem] Unternehmen, für das vielleicht Innovation nicht so eine Rolle spielt [...], wenn sie finden, das ist jetzt an der Sache vorbei, immer nur quasi den direkten Weg suchen, immer mehr Effizienz, mehr Kompetenz und weniger vielleicht in einem gewissen Masse eine exotische [Komponente dazunehmen] (Interview 21, 479-485).*

Instead of holding onto what is best known and calculated economically, repertoire III clears the way for a more experimental approach and thus opens up for new trajectories. In this regard, it needs curiosity, confidence, and courage in order to draw on the "voices repertoire" and thus to enrich it. Pointing out the relevance of a corporate cultural foundation, therefore, implies several requirements. A salient claim is to re-think current one-sided economic arguments and reflect upon broader contexts. This demands an increased sensitivity. In this vein, experts drawing on repertoire III regard it as crucial point „dass man einfach sieht, das sind Stabstellen, die mithelfen zu sensibilisieren" (Interview 19, 969). In holding "Sensibilisierungsrollen" (Interview 19, 203), they stress the importance, „dass man die Konzeption – nicht die Strategie, die Konzeption – dahinter sieht, es sind Impulsgeber, die eine Kultur beeinflussen wollen, es manchmal auch können" (Interview 19, 974-976) (cf., chap. 5.3). Aiming at broader corporate cultural contexts, then, is conceived of as a lengthy but worthwhile process of sensitisation:

> *[D]ann wird es der eigene Prozess, dann wird es nicht aufgedonnert. Wir denken es ist ein bisschen mühsamer […] so zu implementieren, aber es ist nachhaltiger. Weil sonst machen die Leute das, dass sie nicht gehauen werden, aber sie machen den Denkprozess einfach nicht mit (Interview 19, 413-417).*

Thus, enabling sustainable change calls on everybody to slow down, to listen to the variety of voices, and to enter into a dialogue. This demands a deceleration, an "Entschleunigung", which provides new spaces:

> *[W]enn einer auf einmal neben allem Daily Business und dem grossen Projekt noch Führungsaufgaben bekommt, wo er vorher schon zwölf Stunden gearbeitet hat und […] gar keine Zeit hat um sie wahrzunehmen, da müssen sie lernen zu sagen, ich brauche für Führungsaufgaben mehr Zeit (Interview 18, 85-90).*

In this regard, the third repertoire strives to make space for diversity and differences, connecting the singular concepts and reaching broader foundations. In doing so, it bridges the dichotomy of hard facts, numbers, measurable output and rationales (and their leading position) on the one hand and soft factors, emotions and humanistic values (as the eternal bridesmaids) on the other hand. Thereby, the aim is not – as the second repertoire might suggest – to rearrange the ranking and, for instance, reconstruct a dichotomy in terms of an "inhuman" economic sphere on the one hand and a "human" social sphere on the other. Such an approach would *not* be able to overcome the dichotomous and hierarchical logic. Rather, it would re-enter the discussion on majorities, minorities and conflicts of interests through the backdoor.

After all, the "voices repertoire" starts from the assumption that diversity does not mark a distinctive feature that particular employees bring with them. Rather, differences are conceived of as the basis of every organization and process of organizing. This very assumption can be referred to as a tertium comparationis of the different HR or CSR concepts (cf., chap. 7). Taking diversity and differences as a mutual basis refuses the dominance of a homogenous centre and its image of the "ideal worker". By contrast, it gives way to a dialogical culture of differences. In this sense, voices drawing on interpretative repertoire III endeavour to bridge the dichotomies and trigger an interplay. Consequently, they point at pioneer work rather than running the risk of becoming stranded in complaining about the non-acceptance of particular measures. By asking why – for instance – there has to be an expensive swimming pool if there is nobody to swim in it, they are able to expose these dichotomies. Thus, the concern is not with pricey extras or with good deeds in the margins. Likewise, the endeavours cannot be fought out by singular protagonists. An expensive weights room becomes useless if a superior conceives of spending one's time in it as "illegal" (cf., chap. 5.1); a perfected childcare service cannot foster a parent's career if there is no common understanding that parenting needs time that has to be scheduled (or that sometimes by its very definition can*not* be scheduled in advance); and giving great sums of money in terms of "corporate donation" (cf., chap. 2) does not foster social responsibility if volunteering is conceived of as a luxurious sideline with no further implications for "the real business". In view of potential for change, all of these expensive gestures cannot exist dissociated from the cultural context. Issues of zeitgeisty luxury or minority interest crop up and exhale as a trend or a social side-note. If the offers are conceived of as "ideal worker luxury", this might concur with the (economic) aim. In this case, there is no reason for further worry. Isolated spots in terms of "grand gestures" are conceived of as the adequate means to keep up with a trend. In order to make a difference, however, every offer needs to be embedded within its broader organizational context. A particular offer never has any function in itself. It merely acts as an expression of the overarching goal in terms of ongoing dialogical becoming. Therefore, the aim of implementing an HR or CSR concept is not to accomplish an isolated arrangement but to embrace these differences as a sine qua non on new paths without a fixed destination.

7 Conceptual discussion

The present project aims to go beyond contemporary constructions of human resource and social responsibility concepts in organizations. Focusing on potential for change, it asks how people construct the different endeavours and how they give (different) meaning to them. The previous chapters introduced three interpretative repertoires upon which the interviewees mainly drew: Repertoire I, which was called *ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization* (5.1), repertoire II, the repertoire of *minority interests and good deeds on the margins of the organization* (5.2), and repertoire III, which was referred to as *different voices within the overall organization* (5.3). Chapter 6 resumed the discourse analysis by means of elaborating the functions and effects of these very language tools of sense-making regarding stagnancy of the concepts on the one hand and their potential to instigate corporate cultural change on the other. The present chapter aims to discuss the results of the current project. Thereby, the results will be connected and discussed in view of other psychological and philosophical concepts and potential agreements.

7.1 Concepts on current images of "ideal workers" and "political metaphors"

The findings of this project proved to centre on images of so-called "ideal workers" as a point of departure from which dichotomies and power relations are constructed. With regard to the subject of gender in organizations in general or models of working time in particular, there is a considerable body of research analysing hidden male dominance in terms of the image of the "ideal worker" or the "ideal employee" (Acker, 1990, 1992a; Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998; Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Lewis, 1997, 2001; Ostendorp & Nentwich, 2005; Ostendorp, Nentwich, Resch, & Dachler, 2003; Simon, 1995; Tienari, Quack, & Theobald, 2002; Williams, 2000). Thus, this "standardized" worker is described as somebody whose work life is strictly kept apart from his personal life, with the former taking absolute priority over the latter. The commitment to profession and company is conceived of as unlimited compared with any private activities. In this context, the term spun off the name of the first repertoire. In pointing at strictly divided dichotomies between business on the one hand and personal and societal life on the other, it concurs with the central features of the "ideal worker repertoire". Against the backdrop of gender, however, analysing these images centres on a critical (and very important) analysis of gendered division of labour. In this regard, the analysis has a long tradition of starting from the assumption that there is a male employee who is married (or at least is in a relationship with a female partner) and has children. First of all, then, the sphere of "private activities" is narrowed down to housework and parenting. In this sense, the term "ideal worker" is meant to grasp the image of "a man whose work is life and whose wife takes care of everything else" (Acker, 1992a, p. 257). Beck-Gernsheim (1980), for instance, subsumed this phenomenon under the expression "Anderthalb-Personen-Job". Without questioning the importance of such analyses, however, the present project does not aim to focus on these connotations exclusively. Rather, it underlines a general dichotomy of business (and its "ideal workforce") on the one hand and personal as well as societal concerns on the other – with the latter often turning out to be also dichotomously constructed. Furthermore, the project keeps in mind that the question of what constitutes an "ideal worker" is always open to negotiation and thus subject to change. Consequently, these images can never be fixed once and for all (e.g., as the married male breadwinner). Rather, they are understood as cultural historic products that are always "in the making" (cf., chap. 3). In this regard, research on gender and organization has recently pointed out that images of the "ideal worker" do not necessarily refer to the standard of a highly qualified male employee. In terms of gendered organizations, for instance, Benshop and Doorewaard (1998) as well as Tienari, Quack and Theobald (2002) argue that this image always has to be read against its cultural context. Within typically less qualified positions of caring, it can also be conceived of as female (cf., Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998). In this vein, several scholars point out that a static conception of *the* "ideal employee" proves to be insufficient (Acker, 1990, 1992a; Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998; Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Tienari, Quack, & Theobald, 2002). Consequently, current images of an "ideal worker" in large-scale enterprises might also entail a young internationally experienced woman. In this context, the adjective "ideal" and its connotations might be rather deceptive. What the images have in common, however, is their orientation to the centre of the system including their (dichotomous and hierarchical) categorizing functions and effects. Thus, the images are consistent with that which is currently "culturally expected". This orientation to the norm can be comprehended by means of the adjective "ideal" (although it acts as a very ironic illustration). In this sense, the current project takes up the term and even uses it in order to name the first repertoire. Furthermore, the compound proves to be useful in order to place an emphasis on power-based processes of subject positioning – whether the focus is on diversity in general or on gender in particular. Thus, an "ideal worker" is conceived of as a member of a dominant group in an organization who is holding power over other, less privileged workers. From this point of view, the term aims to debunk underlying assumptions of quasi-objective organizational realities and hidden patterns of power and dominance.

Drawing on Foucault's work, one can conceive of power as the extent of employees' access to the centre and its discourse. In this process, Foucault cautions against totalising discourses and points out that there are many kinds of power relations. Within *Discipline and Punish* (1977/1975), for instance, he argues that dominance is not simply to be found in a person but rather "in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up" (Foucault, 1977/1975, p. 202). In this spirit, Gergen reminds us that power relations are not just constituted by a privileged few but rather by "people engaging in large numbers in inter-related activities spread across the culture" (K. J. Gergen, 1999, p. 208). Consequently, one can conceive of power relations and the respective discourses as productive inviting forces with crucial centralizing functions. These centralizing functions enable and reproduce an authoritative discourse. Steyaert and Janssens (2003/2001) stress that such an authoritative discourse enables dominant groups to perform a monological conversation. What is said, then, is there for the taking or leaving. Statement and authority melt into one. Thus, the authors point out the hidden power-based inequality when it comes to the right to speak (cf., Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001, p. 181). Foucault explained the manner in which memberships of dominant groups are taken for granted and how they are inevitably not referred to as such:

> *Power is tolerable only on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms* (Foucault, 1978/1976, p. 86) .

Likewise, analysing dominant identities and experiences in organizations, Ely points out that as a rule, there is no need to consider dominant groups of an organization because the culture was organized with them in mind (cf., Ely, 1996, p. 169). Since these patterns are necessarily hidden, making them explicit is understood as a very important step towards a dialogical interplay. This observation is in line with further research on diversity and social constructionist assumptions on power and dominance in general (e.g., Burr, 1995; Cox, 1993; K. J. Gergen, 1999; Nkomo, 1996; Parker, 1989, 1992; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001). The findings of the presented project have illustrated the manner in which dominant groups (i.e., the "ideal workforce") turned out to be less tangible than those who "lack" the membership. Constructions of HR and CSR measures oriented towards the "ideal worker repertoire" exclusively centred on these dominant groups without reflecting on further social interaction within the sphere of business at all. Thus, the different offers were conceived of as nice measures and services on the sidelines – a fair-weather luxury. By contrast, the "minorities repertoire" exclusively addressed (and stigmatized) those groups who seemed to lack the conditions of the "ideal worker". Consequently, understandings of "diversity" turned out to refer to well-defined group characteristics, especially gender and ethnicity. In this sense, Ely (1996) points out that a category like colour or gender underlies implicit assumptions that are far from "neutral". Whereas dominant groups are hard to identify, people do not hesitate to specify and categorize the typical "minority groups". Hence, she stresses that it is only those in the oppressed positions who constitute diversity. Keeping this in mind, several scholars illustrate how "the diverse person" is constructed as a "minority" (Ely, 1996; Nkomo, 1992; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, 2003/2001). Ely illustrates these processes of "minority-making" as follows:

> *Only people of color have a race; only women have a gender; only gay, lesbian, and bisexual people have a sexual identity* (Ely, 1996, p. 162).

In this vein, the findings of the discourse analysis have illustrated how HR and CSR endeavours modelled on the repertoire of *minority interests and good deeds* refer to those groups with specific characteristics and how they struggle with discrimination (cf., chap. 5.2). Against this backdrop, what was called "diversity" turned out to be primarily special policies for women. Litvin (1997) points out that diversity is mainly linked to specific qualities of separated, homogenous groups. Likewise, Janssens and

Steyaert (2003, p. 19f.) argue that differences are conceived of as isolated from one another and not studied in their totality. They conclude that knowledge of group characteristics is seen as the key to diversity and differences. Consequently, scholars have pointed out that such an approach to minorities implies striving for sameness and conceives of differences as a lack (Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998; Ely, 1996; Nealon, 1999; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, 2003/2001). In this vein, Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) argue that "managing" or "management" of diversity turns the process into a privilege of those who "manage" and into a stigmatization of those who "are managed". Drawing on a critical analysis by Blommaert and Verschueren (1998), they point out a gap between a "powerful group" on the one hand and an "oppressed group" on the other. Thereby, Lorbiecki and Jack further argue that fixing "the managed diverse group" results in the stigmatization of difference. In this context, they discuss benefits stemming from "diversity management" or "managing diversity", in order to ask who's profit it actually is:

> *Each text then ends with 'organizations' as the stated beneficiaries, but who within them is to be better off: those managing diversity or those being managed?(Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000, p. 23)*

Whereas these objections are discussed against the backdrop of diversity concepts here, within the results of the present project these processes turned out to underlie each of the subjects from "healthcare" to "volunteering". Whenever the different HR and CSR concepts were constructed by means of the "minorities repertoire", they were exclusively geared towards "needy" target groups and ran the risk of stigmatizing them. This perspective on processes of stigmatizing "oppressed groups" can be discussed within the tradition of feminist theories and Butler's (1990; 1993) approach to "doing gender". In view of disabled people, these processes have been tackled in the sense of "doing disability" (Liggett, 1988; Shakespeare, 1996). Thus, for instance, Ligett points out how well-defined minority groups such as "the disabled" confirm and reproduce the constitution of disability. Likewise, the findings of the presented project showed how a purported "neutral" concept like "work-life balance" could turn into a measure for "needy mothers". Benschop and Doorewaard (1998) refer to these organizational sideline positions as “mommy tracks”. Focusing on the compatibility of work and parenting obligations, Lewis (1997; 2001) stresses the ascription of parenting responsibilities to women in need. With regard to the link between “most pressing needs” and “priority” of perks, she concludes:

> *Focusing on the needs of lone mothers highlights the need for child care and flexible working hours. But it also reinforces the focus on women and, hence, it can be argued encourages the marginalisation rather than mainstreaming of initiatives to support paid work and family (Lewis, 2001, p. 22).*

Likewise, Kofodimos (1995) stresses that traditional “work-family programs” are geared towards those who work to live, whereas those who live to work do not need help. Finally, modelled on the first two interpretative repertoires, making use of each of the HR or CSR offers proved to depend upon the respective goodwill of supervisors. Since the usage was equated with wasting precious resources of the company, participating employees had to express their gratefulness (cf., chap. 5.2). Likewise (though focused on work-life issues), Lobel and Kossek point to the relevance of gratefulness for a perk and stress that “employees may be grateful for employer efforts to help them with work and personal life conflicts” (Lobel & Ernst Kossek, 1996, p. 224).

Analysing concepts like “health care” or “work life balance”, finally, one could easily take up Ely’s above citation and add: Only older people have an age; and only those who are not able to work fulltime strive for a “balance” of their life.

In this vein, categorizations are no longer conceived of as neutral descriptions. Rather, naming target groups is understood as reproducing unconnected categories and their implicit power ascriptions. As a consequence of the second repertoire, then, providing categories and declaring them to be a special target group turned out to use up “potential” or “creative spaces” (Steyaert, 2002, 2006). Thus, Hacking stresses that “numerous kinds of human beings and human acts come into being hand in hand with our invention of the categories labelling them” (Hacking, 1986, p. 236). At the same time, the focus shifts from the initial processes of sense-making to the labelled “deviations” from the norm. Steyaert and Janssens illustrate the consequences of special interest-based policies as follows:

> *In special programs, it seems that the problem is not the norm, whether based on ‘men’ or ‘highly-skilled workers’; the problem is the group that differs from the norm. Individuals who receive extra attention as members of a minority often feel themselves to be ‘problems’, since so many resources and so much human energy are devoted especially to them. As a result of this way of working, special HRM programs attach little or no value to ‘otherness’ as something to be explored and taken advantage of on its own terms (Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, p. 19).*

The assumption that there is only a limited amount of resources (in terms of expensive perks) that can be granted to needy groups again concurs with the illustrated concept of gratefulness. Furthermore, it points at the need to claim one’s own demands in competition with other minority interests. Then, the crucial question becomes which particular claim manages to achieve a piece of the charitable action. The project has pointed out the manner in which this competition gives rise to an ongoing struggle. Focusing on different interest groups turned out to be inseparably intertwined with unsatisfactory justifications towards the centre on the one hand and other interest groups on the other hand. Likewise, Morgan postulates within his *Images of Organization* (1998/1986) that an interest-based perspective breeds mistrust and encourages the notion of a zero-sum game where there must be winners and losers:

> *The analysis of interests, conflicts, and power easily gives rise to a Machiavellian interpretation that suggests everyone is trying to outwit and outmaneuver everyone else. Rather than use the political metaphor to generate new insights and understandings that can help us deal with divergent interests, we often reduce the metaphor to a tool to be used to advance our own personal interests” (Morgan, 1998/1986, p. 178).*

Against the backdrop of interest-based negotiations, then, one can grasp a concept-making modelled on the second repertoire by means of what Morgan (1998/1986) calls a “political metaphor”. This political metaphor acts on the assumption that organizational activity is interest-based, in the sense that ways must be found to create order and direction among people with potentially diverse and conflicting interests. It encourages actors to evaluate organizational functioning with this in mind. Therefore, Morgan looks upon organizational actors as political actors and points at the political significance of the patterns of meaning within corporate cultural and subcultural contexts:

> *We can analyze organizational politics in a systematic way by focusing on relations among interests, conflict, and power. Organizational politics arise when people think differently and want to act differently when confronted with alternative paths of action. This diversity creates a tension that must be resolved through political means* (Morgan, 1998/1986, p. 152).

As the findings have illustrated, the very "political means" can fuel a lively struggle between the different target groups. This struggle turned out to be twofold: On the one hand it was conceived of in opposition to the centre of the system and its "ideal worker". On the other hand it was a matter of the different target groups themselves. Focusing on conflicting interests, then, can provoke a competitive dynamic whereby "minority groups" strive for the most "needy" status. In this context, Ely points at the risk of opening the floodgates to the "Oppression Olympics":

> *Latinos argue that they are more oppressed than Blacks – that in the fight over the crumbs left by Whites, it is the African Americans who win. Black men argue for the primacy of race over gender; White women fight to keep sexism on the agenda, often wishing to forget their role as agents of racism. Some women of color identify with men of color, casting their vote for race and cutting their connections to White women; other women of color emphasize sexism in their communities and risk alienation from their racial and ethnic groups. Yet if they join the White women, they know they may be the targets of racism from their White sisters"* (Ely, 1996, p. 170).

This illustration helps reflecting in which manner well-defined minority groups can performe the "Oppression Olympics" and how their arguments are running the risk of floundering in a dead-end street.

Finally, the analysed dichotomy between rationales *either* calculating a cost-benefit-ratio *or* calling on a social consciousness can be traced back within literature on the "management" of "diversity". Thus, there is a long tradition of different rationales being applied when it comes to arguing for the need of diversity concepts. In short, the relevance of "managing diversity" can be established by means of two main rationales (cf., Janssens & Steyaert, 2003; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). Based upon a "moral perspective", voices alluded to the deplorable state of affairs in society and called upon managers to take "diversity" into account on moral grounds (Carnevale & Stone, 1994; Rosett & Bickham, 1994). On the other hand, it was pointed out that "diversity" can be understood as a management or a business case rather than a moral issue (Thomas, 1991). In this vein, from an extensive "economic perspective", it has been argued that "diversity management" improves productivity and efficiency (Gordon, 1992; Littlefield, 1995; McGrath, Berdahl, & Arrow, 1996; Northcraft, Polzer, Neale, & Kramer, 1996; Owens, 1997; Segal, 1997). These different rationales of the diversity literature can help to provide an understanding of the unconnected roots that locate the subject in terms of an effective "human resource management" on the one hand and as a challenge for "corporate social responsibility" on the other hand up to the present.

7.2 Concepts on "becoming identities" and "continuous change"

The previous section pointed out parallels between existing concepts within the field of psychology, philosophy and organization studies and the findings of this project in terms of the first two interpretative repertoires. These two sources – the repertoire of "ideal worker luxury" as well as the repertoire of "minority interests" – proved to primarily provoke or conserve dichotomies, unequal power relations, and conflicts of interests. In terms of the third language source, by contrast, this rather stable and fixed logic gave way to an open and fluid approach. Chapter 5.3 referred to a becoming thinking, which differed from the process logic of repertoire II. In this sense, repertoire III can be linked to a long tradition of understanding reality as becoming rather than being. Consequently, arguments modelled on the "voices repertoire" did not focus on a clearly defined end point. Rather, they stressed a quest for confident experimentation and openness. First, one can trace back the parallels to identity concepts that conceive of an identity construction in terms of becoming rather than being. From this point, processes of "doing identity" or "self-making" are conceived of as ongoing constructions where the past, present and future act as building blocks. An identity or a self, then, is always "open for change over time as the individual passes through different social interactions in time and space" (Lindgren & Wahlin, 2003, p. 96). Likewise, psychological approaches, be they discursive, narrative, cultural, or social constructionist in nature, put an emphasis on the role of time and history (Bruner, 1990, 2001; K. J. Gergen, 1994, 1999; Hall, 1992; Lindgren & Wahlin, 2003; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001; Thisted, 2003). This is why Gergen & Gergen (1986), for instance, explicitly talk about a "historical social psychology". From a cultural historical perspective, identities and the entangled processes of sense-making have been emphatically described as dependent on the symbolic system in which they are accomplished, including the respective cultural opportunities and constraints (Bruner, 1990, 2001; Cole, 1996; Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001; Hall, 1992; Vygotsky, 1986/1934). In this regard, Bruner conceives of a "folk psychology", which is intrinsic to each culture, be it Far Eastern or Western, Antique or modern. According to Bruner (2001, p.30), therefore, the respective "folk psychology" provides the available "set of givens". Processes of self-making can be discussed against the backdrop of overarching processes of "world-making" (Bruner, 2001; Geertz, 1988). In this vein, narrative psychology emanates from the assumption that people create, alter and reaffirm their selves depending upon the respective cultural contexts, which can be conceived of as available "autobiographical possibilities" (Brockmeier, 2001; Bruner, 1993; Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001). Many scholars have pointed out the historical changes that move identities, replacing the canonical "grand plans" with a variety of fragmented conceptions (Bonß, 2002; Bruner, 1990, 1997, 2001; K. J. Gergen, 1991, 1998; Hall, Held, & McGrew, 1992; Hitzler & Honer, 1994; Keupp, 1994; Keupp et al., 1999). These multiple perishable identities can be conceived of as a constant interaction between symbolic systems, conceptions of time and history and available patterns of meaning-making (Brockmeier, 1995; Bruner, 1990, 2001; Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001; Geertz, 1973; Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990). Thus, Freeman and Brockmeier argue that an increasing decomposition of traditional agreed-upon models of a "good life" paves the way for more pluralistic, open, and heterogeneous visions. This implies new options of sense-making in terms of more ambiguous and multivoiced identities.

Freeman and Brockmeier outline a scenario in which this diversity is taking the place of former grand narratives:

> *At an extreme, these visions and versions of human life seem, in fact, to part entirely from a reliance on the emulation of models (Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001, p. 76).*

To sum up, these contemporary versions can be characterized by the loss of specifications, expanding autobiographical possibilities, and a corresponding variety of choices. In this vein, identity is never conceived of as stable or innate, but as socially constructed, changing over time and across contexts. To make meaning of one's self, then, does not mean providing *the* fixed identity. Rather, it means creating a self that is constantly in the making, negotiable in "metaxu", the in-between.

Approaches in terms of a becoming and a dialectic thinking can be traced back within process philosophy and dialectics in the work of very different philosophers such as Heidegger, Whitehead, Nietzsche, or Hegel all the way to that which is (in view of a becoming-thinking, interestingly enough) commonly accepted as "the beginning" of philosophy (Held, 1980; Hirschberger, 1981; Mansfeld, 1987). This "beginning" refers to two salient pre-Socratic protagonists (if one is willing to adopt this personal perspective and simplifying dichotomy): Parmenides, who represents an eternal being, and Heraclitus, who conceives of the world in terms of an eternal becoming. According to the latter, everything is "in flux":

> *Diese Welt [...] war immer und ist und wird sein ein ewig lebendiges Feuer, nach Maßen erglimmend und nach Maßen erlöschend" (qtd. in Hirschberger, 1981).*

Moreover, pointing at an eternal becoming of reality, the aphorism "pánta rheí", everything flows, is ascribed to the ancient philosopher. Thus, the river and its water became a salient metaphor for Heraclitus and his notions of difference (see below) and becoming. The most frequently cited passage in Heraclitus concerns his assumption that nobody can step in the same river twice. The implications of such an assumption are twofold. First of all, it says that the world can never be fixed but has to be viewed as in perpetual change. As Steyaert and Janssens put it:

> *A becoming is not a change between two states (contraptions) from a point of departure to a point of arrival; one is in the middle and experimenting without destination [...]. Becoming, a becoming cannot 'have' or 'be' a fixed identity, it is always a becoming-other, pure differences, multifications rather than unification. The multiplicity of becoming requires always escaping from the many accessible and accepted codings and overcodings (Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, p. 44).*

As the findings of the presented project have pointed out, this assumption of perpetual change marks a crucial difference between the first two repertoires and the third one. Whereas the first repertoire did not refer to change at all, the second was aimed at a process that was limited by a clearly definable starting and ending point. In this sense, for instance, the education of a mature, integrated personality proved to be understood in terms of a "Bildungsroman" of social responsibility. Akin, within their discourse analysis of different definitions of "diversity management", Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) criticise an implicit instrumental and mechanistic, 'Modernist' rationale. Thus, they expose a "means-end relationship" in terms of "managing diversity" as the "means" and the attainment of organizational goals as the desired "end" (cf., ibid., p.19). The third repertoire, however, resisted the temptation of fixing the different HR and CSR concepts to distinct categories and thus refilling spaces. Rather, it strived for open spaces and set out on new lines of flight (cf., chap. 5.3). Drawing on Nietzsche, Deleuze (1983/1968) points to an active and affirmative approach towards multiplicity and becoming (cf., Bogue, 1989; Carter & Jackson, 2003; Goodchild, 1997). Thereby, he stresses the simultaneity of a becoming that "does not tolerate the separation or the distinction of before and after, or of past and future" (Deleuze, 1990/1969, p. 1). Consequently, Deleuze and Guattari conceive of lines of flight as constituting the available routes of escape:

> *Territorialities, then are shot through with lines of flight testifying to the presence within them of movements of deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987/1980, p. 55).*

In this regard, every usage of the different HR and CSR endeavours can be understood as an acquiring and re-arranging of organizational space. The more alteration it allows, the more lines of flight can be explored and mixed up.

Thus, the "voices repertoire" is conceived of as a fundamental building block of organizational change towards diversity and differences. These considerations on change can be further located within literature on organizational change in general (Argyris, 1999; Argyris & Schön, 1999; Schein, 1992, 1999; Smircich, 1983; Weick & Quinn, 1999). In particular, they can be linked to concepts stressing the relevance of studying organizational discourses in order to understand processes of sense-making within organizations.[29] From this perspective, within two different studies, O'Connor (1995; 2000), for instance, analyses written accounts of business practice and organizational change processes and traces back organizational narratives as a construct for studying change in organizations. Likewise, other research on organizational change following the linguistic turn explicitly centres on "text" – i.e., "discourses", "narrations", or "conversations" – in organizations as the tools of organizational change (Ford, 1999; Ford & Ford, 1995; Ford, Ford, & Mc Namara, 2002; Sturdy & Grey, 2003; Thachankary, 1992; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). Like money in a bank, so too does text become a crucial resource within each organization – as, referring to Cooperrider (1996), Gergen (1999) puts it:

> *To draw them [the narratives] out and place them in motion [...] is to invest in new visions for the future. In sharing these stories confidence is stimulated that indeed the vision can be realized. In effect, appreciative narratives unleash the powers of creative change (K. J. Gergen, 1999, p. 177).*

Likewise, research on organizational change proves to be increasingly concerned with different perspectives on the "tempo of change" (Weick & Quinn, 1999). Subsequent to the work on organization development and transformation of Porras and Silvers (1991), scholars have recently stressed the importance of discerning between a perspective of change as more "episodic" (i.e., discontinuous, intermittent) or more "continuous" (i.e., evolving, incremental) (e.g., Dunphy, 1996; Weick & Quinn, 1999).

---

29 Concerning narrative approaches to organizations as "organizations-in-the-making", cf., chap. 3.2.

Whereas the former goes back to the Lewinian model of "unfreeze-transition-refreeze" (Lewin, 1951; Schein, 1996), the latter takes up notions of "flux", "becoming", "complexity", and "chaos", stressing ongoing adjustments as the essence of organizational change. In this context, for instance, Morgan (1998/1986, pp. 213ff.) offers a perspective on organization as flux and transformation. This metaphor stresses the premise that change is not achieved by means of functioning hierarchies and control. Rather, it is conceived of as a complex changing process without a starting and end point that is always underway. In this sense – as the image of the "butterfly effect" entails – small changes can trigger major transforming effects.[30] Change is no longer linear and progressive, but rather a redirection of what is always there (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Morgan, 1998/1986; Orlikowski, 1996; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002; Weick & Quinn, 1999). In this sense, employees and experts drawing on the "voices repertoire" express their perspective on the future as an open state of becoming, a change that is always underway (cf., chap. 5.3). The noun "change" becomes the gerund "changing".[31]

Finally, this perspective on a continuous organizational becoming brings forth important concepts regarding differences and their ways of both entering an organization and being negotiated within an organization. They will be discussed within the following section.

7.3 Concepts on corporate culture, "self-organization", and "polyphony"

Discussing the different interpretative repertoires in relation to potential for change, the interrelatedness between the different HR and CSR constructions and their positioning within the organizational context took centre stage. Likewise, concerning measures of "diversity", "health care", or "compatibility of work and parenting", several scholars call for analysing the concepts against a broader cultural background. While focusing on time and compatibility, for instance, some of them argue that current measures are not embedded within the corporate culture and thus never make it into the centre (Benshop

[30] On "chaos theory" and its assumption that small events can have huge effects, see e.g. Levy (1994).

[31] For instance, this shift in vocabulary is suggested by Weick and Quinn (1999).

& Doorewaard, 1998; Hornberger & Olbert-Bock, 2001; Kofodimos, 1995; Lewis, 1997, 2001; Lobel & Kossek, 1996; Ostendorp & Nentwich, 2005; Ostendorp, Nentwich, Resch, & Dachler, 2003). In terms of disability, moreover, Schur, Kruse and Blanck (2005) have recently discussed the employment of disabled persons against the corporate cultural backdrop. Likewise, with regard to diversity in general, different scholars stress the complexity and embeddedness of the concept. Consequently, they do not merely focus on implementing isolated measures, but on broader corporate cultural change (Cox, 1991, 1996; Janssens & Steyaert, 2003; Litvin, 1997; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001; Triandis, 1996). This gives rise to a discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of narrow or broad definitions of the subject (Janssens & Steyaert, 2003; Nkomo, 1996; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001; Thomas, 1991).

While claiming a broader cultural approach to diversity, Cox (1991) as well as Steyaert and Janssens (2003/2001) differentiate between three different perspectives. These three perspectives are in accordance with the interpretative repertoires of the represented project. Thus, in terms of corporate cultural potential for change, Cox (1991) differentiates between "monolithic", "plural", and "multicultural organizations" by tracing the progression of an organization from monolithic to plural to multicultural. In this process, he conceives of the monolithic organization as based on a rather homogenous culture in the sense of the "ideal workforce" from interpretative repertoire I. As for the plural organization, he postulates an awareness of different groups that is mainly evidenced by means of special programs. The quest to compensate for deviations and to sooth disadvantages leads to policies explicitly geared towards particular target groups in the sense of interpretative repertoire II. In this vein, the centre of the system and its image of an "ideal workforce" sets the benchmark. By contrast, Cox conceives of the culture of a multicultural organization as based on the awareness that diversity provides a two-way interaction and thus instigates cultural change. This is in line with interpretative repertoire III and its emphasis on dialogue and becoming.

Furthermore, Steyaert and Janssens outline three different perspectives in order to trace assumptions underlying current human resource practices and to relate them to an *Organizing (with) Difference* (2003/2001). Drawing on concepts from business culture literature (Martin, 1992), they distinguish between an "integration perspective", a “differentiation perspective”, and a “fragmentation perspective”. With regard to the “integration perspective”, they stress that it is mainly aimed at working out individualised practices for the “ideal employee”, whereas no attention is paid to those who do not fit the standard. In this sense, human resource management is conceived of as an important tool for creating a monolithic culture. Hence, the “integration perspective” widely corresponds to the first interpretative repertoire of the presented project, the repertoire of “ideal worker luxury”. Second, in view of human resource management from a “differentiation perspective”, they point out that there actually is attention to differences, but that these differences are still constructed as a shortcoming:

> *The assumption here is that the differences of these target groups require modifications to HRM activities so that these groups can ultimately have the same opportunities as standard or ‘regular’ employees (Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001, p. 17).*

As for the interpretative repertoire of “minority interests”, within the “differentiation perspective” the endeavours are geared towards specific target groups and their needs. Thus, this perspective is in keeping with the second repertoire of the project as well as with the above illustrated “plural organization” according to Cox. Finally, human resource management from a “fragmentation perspective” is no longer aimed at providing sameness and controlling differences, but rather aims to explore their strength and possibilities. Thus, Steyaert and Janssens show „how actions and interventions no longer need to be approached as a form of ‘management’ but as a praxis of difference” (Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001, 24f.). Whereas unity is revealed as an abstract illusion, ambiguity takes centre stage:

> *There are no general statements claiming that a culture is truly harmonious or truly conflictual. Individuals share some points of view, disagree on others, and are ignorant or seem indifferent on still others. Concensus, dissensus and confusion exist simultaneously, making it difficult to discern cultural or subcultural boundaries (Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001, p. 14).*

Likewise, Gergen points out that tendencies toward division can be conceived of as a natural outgrowth of social interaction:

> *[S]o long as we continue the normal process of creating consensus around what is real and good, classes of the undesirable are under construction. Wherever there are tendencies toward unity, cohesion, brotherhood, commitment, solidarity, or community, so is alterity – or otherness - under production. And it is here that seeds of conflict are sewn. In the present condition, virtually none of us escapes from being undesirable to at least one (and probably many) other groups (K. J. Gergen, 1999, p. 149).*

Approaching differences from this viewpoint, the quest is no longer either for unity and sameness or for coping with bothersome differences. It becomes a matter of differences as an ontological premise. While developing his notions of "becoming", furthermore, Heraclitus pointed out the variety of contradictions, which he referred to as "opposita" (Held, 1980; Mansfeld, 1987). According to the pre-Socratic philosopher, these contradictions do not merely act as different separable entities. Rather, he emphasizes "opposita" as a central ontological condition. In this sense – as he puts it in another water metaphor – sea water is both pure and dirty, both salutary and ruinous. Likewise, every human being can be understood as contradictory. To Heraclitus, then, it is only contradiction from which common ground, "coincidentia", can emanate. Illustrating approaches to becoming, the previous section referred to the Heraclitian metaphor of the river in which one can never step twice. At this point, it might become clear that by means of his metaphor, Heraclitus not only grasps the constant flux of everything. Moreover, at the same time, he refers to the world as a river. In this sense, the world is understood as an inclusive form that does not enfold sameness, but comprises a multiplicity of differences. By means of embracing these "opposita", the river as well as the world can be conceived of as providing "coincidentia", the common ground. Going back to ancient China and its philosophy, such a becoming perspective can also be conceived of as a Taoist continuous flux on its way. In this vein, these very Heraclitian "opposita" are understood as intertwined in tensions that shape wholeness at the same time. Morgan (1998/1986, p. 243), for instance, illustrates the dynamic interplay of yin and yang as the primordial opposites guiding all change. Likewise, the third interpretative repertoire of the presented project has described the tertium comparationis of the different HR and CSR endeavours as an open approach to differences. In so doing, it conceived of differences not as fixed qualities of particular groups, but as changing constellations of occurrences inherent within everybody.

Discussing potential for change, then, the results suggested such an approach as a way to overcome the existing dichotomies and to melt down the range of subjects from "health care services" to "intercultural communication" within a broader cultural perspective. This is also in line with approaches to diversity stressing the multiplicity of identity and the interrelationships among diversity dimensions (Cox, 1993, 1996; Litvin, 1997; Northcraft, Polzer, Neale, & Kramer, 1996; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003/2001). As the findings have stressed the importance of an inclusive approach to diversity and differences, researchers have called for an approach to diversity that addresses potentially everybody. Thus, for instance, Thomas sees diversity as inclusive towards everyone and postulates that „a commitment towards diversity is a commitment to all, not some kind of preferential treatment" (Thomas, 1991, p. 10f.). Likewise, Hayles emphasizes that „the diversity concept is not limited to what people traditionally think of: race, gender, and disabilities". By contrast, he conceives of diversity as „all the ways in which we differ" (Hayles, 1996, p. 105). As an identity can never be encyclopaedically uncovered and fully mapped, differences cannot be conceived of as fixed given entities. Rather, as illustrated above, they are seen as fluent fragments of a self, dependent upon time and context, becoming more or less meaningful within new constellations. Therefore, an identity can be narrated as becoming a "committed father", becoming an "adventurer", an "athlete", a "homosexual", a "breadwinner" or a "life artist" by one and the same person. It can be narrated as both the story of the "old or disabled person" and the "self-sacrificing volunteer", the story of the "rejected stranger" and the "successful careerist". Thus, Ely (1996) assumes that experiences of power and oppression reside simultaneously in everyone. Conceiving of virtually every person as being able to identify some privileged as well as nonprivileged aspects of him- or herself, she suggests explicitly examining both. In this vein, Nealon (1999) stresses that differences do not act as deviations from the norm, but rather – to put it paradoxically – as the "norm" itself. Consequently, he approaches the other that resides within everybody no longer in terms of a traditional identity concept, but in terms of "alterity".

Expanding the perspective on organizational diversity measures and thus subsuming further HR or CSR concepts, then, can be understood as a logical consequence of accepting the illustrated ontological perspective on differences. In this regard, the “voices repertoire” has called for approaching the different endeavours from a comprehensive perspective. By encouraging different voices to have their say, it does not merely call for an increased amount of voices (producing monologues without taking notice of whether they are heard or not). Rather, it centres on a concept of dialogue that starts from the assumption that the meaning of each utterance is built and rebuilt within ongoing social interactions. Such a perspective on dialogue highlights what the Russian philosopher and literary critic Bakhtin (1973) calls “heteroglossia”. It marks a “multivoicedness”, a “polyvocality” or “polyphony”, where different voices are encouraged to enter into dialogue and to speak in chorus (Bouwen & Steyaert, 1999; K. J. Gergen, 1999; M. M. Gergen & Gergen, 2000; Shotter, 1993a; Steyaert & Janssens, 2003, 2003/2001). Thus, Gergen discusses the challenge of entering into a real dialogue. While giving account of the differences between rather monologist speeches and dialogical utterances, he assumes the alterity term and stresses the challenge of affirming the other:

> *It is one thing to express one's feelings or relate life stories; however it is quite another to gain a sense of the other's affirmation. Because meaning is born in relationship an individual's expression doesn't acquire full significance until supplemented. If you fail to appreciate what I am saying, or I think you are distorting my story, then I have not truly expressed anything" (K. J. Gergen, 1999, p. 159).*

Thus, a monologue can never carry a thought further, since meaning is always accomplished in the in-between. In this vein, an important difference between the second and the third repertoire was illustrated as a rather monologue-based approach to “minority interests” versus a dialogue in terms of an exchange and negotiated continuation of utterances. Drawing on the “voices repertoire”, then, means fostering this very Bakhtinian polyphony: It means stepping aside in the way Michel Serres (1995/1982) had indicated, appreciating the variety of different voices, encouraging them to have their say and entering into an ongoing dialogue.

Within such a perspective, the fundamental task of “managing” becomes shaping and creating contexts in which self-organization can occur. It is no longer about deliberately “unfreezing” the status quo and powerfully regulating change. Rather, it is about redirecting change that is already there, a continuous becoming. Redirecting what is always underway, then, means accompanying the processes rather than running them. Just as the third repertoire of the current project called for experts to no longer "manage" the processes but rather to shape appropriate "contexts" or "spaces" where dialogues can take place, literature on continuous organizational change points to these very processes of self-organization (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Morgan, 1998/1986; Orlikowski, 1996; Weick & Quinn, 1999). In this vein, concepts on organizational change and resistance shift the focus from "personal resistance" to "background resistance" (Ford, Ford, & Mc Namara, 2002). Again, the emphasis is placed on continuously negotiated processes of sense-making rather than on singular key figures:

> *From closer in, the view of organization associated with continuous change is built around recurrent interactions as the feedstock of organizing, authority tied to tasks rather than positions, shifts in authority as tasks shift, continuing development of response repertoires, systems that are self-organizing rather than fixed (Weick & Quinn, 1999, 375).*

In this sense, among others, Kotter (1996) postulates that change is something that cannot be "managed", therefore suggesting the term "leading change" instead of "change management". Likewise, Connor (1998), for instance, stresses the impossibility of change "management", speaking of "leading on the edge of chaos". In the same manner, the phenomenon of "little acceptance" and "stagnancy" can no longer be understood as a question of individual experiences and assessments but as a question of the socially constructed context.

Keeping these assumptions on self-organization in mind, one might recall an important utterance stemming from the "voices repertoire" of the presented project:

> *Bewusst bauen wir nicht eine Diversity Management Group auf, weil sonst […] sagt jeder Manager und Topmanager: ‚Das ist ja prima, wir machen ja Diversity in der Firma. Die machen Diversity und ich mach' Business' (Interview 19, 209-212).*

In this vein, the findings of the presented project point in the same direction, therefore reaffirming the illustrated concepts on organizational becoming and polyphony.

The following conclusion will take up and elaborate the implications already hinted at for the future role of HR and CSR experts.

8 Conclusion

Observing a variety of differently positioned and rather unconnected human resource and social responsibility concepts in large-scale Swiss enterprises, the goals of the presented project were threefold:

First of all, the project aimed to bring the different HR and CSR concepts together and to tackle their social constructions by means of analysing their constituting processes of sense-making against a shared background. Thus, a first crucial aim of the project was to understand current HR and CSR constructions of concept-making by approaching the broad spectrum from a consolidated perspective. In this sense, it aimed to overcome the omnipresent temptation of overcoding (while – as discussed – concerned with an arguable extent of categorizing).

Second, the project asked for the functions and consequences connected to the language tools of concept-making that speakers currently use. In doing so, it was acting on the assumption that the identified interpretative repertoires ascribe a respective organizational position to each concept. Therefore, the focus was particularly on understanding contemporary phenomena such as little acceptance and stagnancy of the concepts while at the same time being highly “en vogue”. Thereby, as the reflections upon “research in the making” have pointed out, the focus of the project was not “neutral” and “objective”. Rather, it arose from the author’s (i.e.: my) perspective on a “world-in-the-making” and the connected aim of fostering change towards a culture of differences. Aiming at change towards diversity and differences, the presented project attempted to make a link between both the different HR and CSR concepts on the one hand and questions of (individual as well as organizational) change on the other. A third goal was to further discuss the main findings against the backdrop of similar concepts within literature (mainly drawn from the academic disciplines of psychology and organizational theory). In doing so, the concern was again to contribute to a new integrative perspective on currently rather isolated HRM and CSR trends.

The following section will summarize the main findings of the project (8.1). This summary will be followed by a synopsis of content-related, conceptual, and methodological contributions as well as an outlook on further implications and hints for literature and practice (8.2).

8.1 Main findings of the project

The presented project tackled current HR and CSR concepts in Swiss large-scale enterprises. In so doing, it went beyond different approaches from singular, more HR-related services such as massage or lectures on stress management to vital programs like "SideSwitch", which is subsumed under the term corporate social responsibility. First of all, it asked how speakers constructed these concepts and how they gave (different) meaning to them. The multi-perspective data were gathered from a document analysis and problem-centred interviews with experts and participating employees (cf. chap. 4). By means of a discourse analysis according to Potter and Wetherell (1987), finally, three different interpretative repertoires were shaped as (1) *ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization*, (2) *minority interests and good deeds on the margins of the organization*, and (3) *different voices within the overall organization* (cf., chap. 5).

The following table provides a synoptic overview of the identified language tools of concept-making, their main functions and effects.

Interpretative repertoire / Functions and effects	I Ideal worker luxury in the centre of the organization	II Minority interests and good deeds on the margins of the organization	III Different voices within the overall organization
Focus on	• the centre of the organization and its "ideal worker"	• "minority groups" on the margins	• virtually everybody
Referring to	• contemporary HR and CSR trends in terms of a "fair-weather luxury"	• a social consciousness and an education of mature personalities	• a becoming perspective on corporate culture
Aim	• conserving the "ideal workforce"	• soothing the most pressing human needs	• overcoming categories and centring on differences
Communication is understood as	• one dominant voice	• monologues of distinct voices	• dialogues of a variety of voices (multi-voicedness)
Differences	• are not addressed	• are addressed in terms of parti-cular interests and needs	• are addressed in terms of a "sine qua non" of social interaction
Categories of a business world and a private/ societal world	• are reproduced in terms of economic hard facts vs. human soft facts	• are reproduced in terms of economy vs. social consciousness	• give way to a variety of expansions
Hierarchies between the different spheres	• are reproduced as primarily sphere of business, and secondarily a personal/ societal sphere	• are reproduced, often with reversed polarity	• are melted in a becoming culture of the overall organization
Further impacts of different HR and CSR concepts	• are not intended	• are regretted in terms of little acceptance and stagnancy	• are stressed and underpinned by giving voice to "pioneers" and by creating contexts for ongoing change

Table 3: Synoptic overview of the three interpretative repertoires and their main consequences

Subsequent to the search for current building blocks of concept-making, the consequences of the (shifting) usage of these three repertoires were outlined and discussed in terms of the impact on corporate culture and potential for change. Approaching the subject from a consolidated perspective, pressing issues concerning acceptance and sustainability of the different HR and CSR concepts turned out to affect every single measure – whether the concern was with a weights room or a "top sharing", a massage or a workshop on intercultural communication, a volunteering day or an initiative concerning sexual orientation. In this sense, potential for change proved to depend less on the defined subject of the measure itself, and more on the respective use of the three interpretative repertoires and their underlying assumptions and goals. Thus, different measures ranging from health care services to programs of volunteering modelled on the first repertoire addressed the "ideal worker" and were geared towards keeping up with economic trends. Therefore, the repertoire centred on the mere existence of popular HR and CSR offers, which were understood as an "added bonus", a luxury in strong economic times. Referring to a traditional cost-benefit ratio, speakers calculated for a strong business on the one hand and for employees' luxurious extras on the other. Thus, against the backdrop of the "ideal worker repertoire" (cf., chap. 5.1), the interviewees hardly spoke of any broader goals or visions relating to the respective HR and CSR measures. Rather, they constructed them as isolated, dichotomous offers on the fringes, a side note utterly separated from the "core business" and "what really counts" in terms of "basic requirements", "hard facts", and "measurable output". In the realm of "soft factors", they were appreciated as a fashionable means of acquiring and conserving the "ideal workforce" and displaying a "good" and "modern" image. As a consequence, there was no space left for reflections on potential interrelations of the different endeavours and their corporate cultural or societal contexts. Thus, the different concepts might come and go as any trend, doomed to act as eternal bridesmaids on the fringes of the "real business". However, they were not able to instigate broader organizational change.

By contrast, the second source of sense-making, the repertoire of "minority interests" (cf. chap. 5.2), tackled the HR and CSR concepts as a rather serious concern.

Thus, it addressed those employees who were in great need and desperately depended upon the support. In this vein, repertoire II appealed to a “social consciousness” in general and to the commitment of specific interest groups in particular. In conceiving of these interest groups as “needy minorities”, however, it proved to establish differences by means of one-dimensional features exclusively residing within those employees who deviate from the centre of the system. Modelled on the “minorities repertoire”, for instance, people required compatibility due to a deviation from the norm, because of a disability, pressing obligations like parenting or other urgent responsibilities. As a consequence, difference was by no means understood as a concern of everyone, but rather as a shortcoming that had to be compensated for as well as possible. This proved to fuel heavy conflicts of interests among the different minority groups themselves as well as in opposition to the dominant economic centre. Since (pro-)social concerns were not conceived of as being negotiated in the social in-between of organizations, moreover, they were ascribed to those mature “personalities” who had “a good heart”. In turn, (pro-)social concerns were seen in opposition to the (“heartless”) business world on the one hand and to (rather “selfish”) personal concerns on the other. While taking these dichotomous spheres for granted, therefore, the different realms were often re-constructed in terms of acting either “human” (= social) or “in-human” (= economic). Either way, arguing in favour of good deeds on the fringes of the company turned out again to leave the centre of the system utterly unaffected. At best, then, the different HR and CSR measures managed to co-exist. In so doing, they remained dependent on a rather hopeless struggle of single representatives and intermediaries. Although often the other way round, in either case, the dichotomies between the different spheres were reinforced and reproduced.

Meanwhile, contradictions of claiming “social responsibility” while “doing business as usual” kept a low profile. By means of an oscillating usage of the first two repertoires, speakers were able to construct the different HR and CSR endeavours in a consistent way. Depending on what sphere they were referring to, they were able to draw on a well-proven, suitable repertoire without touching on the dichotomy of the different spheres and their entangled contradictions. Consequently, neither the first nor the second repertoire was able to bridge the gap between personal, societal, and business concerns (cf. chap. 6.1; 6.2). Lacking common ground, by contrast, they conveyed commonly accepted dichotomies such as “work” and “life”, “home” (i.e., “InländerInnen”) and “abroad” (i.e., “AusländerInnen”), “paid” and “unpaid”, “profit” and “non-profit”. In this vein, the different HR and CSR concepts did not affect potentially everybody, but found themselves stranded as rather isolated spots on the fringes. At best, then, the measures were able to increase the number of monologues of an organization. But they hardly made any impact on the centre and its “core business”. Neither the “luxury repertoire” nor the “interest repertoire” had any grounds to make a difference. Depending on the different goals underlying the first two repertoires, then, this low impact was taken either calmly, with delight, or very regretfully. In any case, the respective measures turned out to be doomed to non-acceptance and stagnancy.

By contrast, interpretative repertoire III – the “voices repertoire” – explicitly aimed to address everyone (cf., chap. 5.3). In so doing, it centred on processes of social interaction and conceived of them as ongoing negotiations in “metaxu” without clearly definable starting and ending points. In this regard, it was in line with a becoming perspective (cf., chap. 7.2), based on the assumption that there was never such a thing as “unity” (cf. chap. 7.3). Consequently, it conceived of differences as virtually endless combinations and entangled lines of flight rather than of defined processes, stable identities, and fixed categories. In this context, the present project discussed the third language source of concept-making as an alternative approach to corporate culture which is able to shape and create continuous change towards a culture of differences (cf., chap. 6.3).

Stressing a becoming rather than a being, however, might have given rise to some objections at this point: How can an organization refer to and actually work with concrete HR and CSR measures if they are meant to be merely “open”, “vague”, and, finally, intangible? Can an (economically serious) organization ever realize such a fragmented, fluid approach? And if it does, one might further ask, does it really open up these promising spaces? Or is it, in fact, running the risk of getting lost in these very spaces? In a nutshell: Does this approach open the floodgate to an “anything goes” by way of a “nothing goes”?

However, the findings did not merely suggest setting out on a vague journey on which everybody could talk at once whether their voices were heard or not. Rather, by drawing on the "voices repertoire", they suggested understanding the different voices in relation to each other. As the Heraklitian "opposita" are brought together in the eternal flux of the river, differences were conceived of as sine qua non of organizing. Acting on this assumption, HR and CSR endeavours – whatever extent to which they differed – displayed an increased awareness of the range of different voices and aimed to enable their dialogical expression. From this point of view – to put it paradoxically – what all the different HR and CSR concepts turn out to have in common is difference. Fostering the variety of differences, then, does not just mean "fighting" for one's (very personal) rights within the respective community of interests. Rather, it means accomplishing open dialogues across the whole organization, a Bakhtinian polyphony in which the meaning of each utterance can be negotiated within ongoing social interactions.

Section 8.2 will finally reflect upon the contributions, implications and further hints of these findings.

8.2 Contributions and main implications

Before presenting the following reflections upon content-related, methodological, and conceptual contributions and implications, an important premise of the current project should be recalled. Thus, the project repeatedly stressed its aim of understanding the organizational positioning and impact of current HR and CSR concepts in order to open up potential for change in terms of differences.

Keeping this in mind, the integrative perspective on very differently categorized fields in "management", namely "diversity management", "human resource management", "corporate social responsibility", and, finally, "organizational change management" can be firstly referred to as a crucial content-related contribution: Focusing on the respective language tools for sense-making, no matter whether it is about "diversity", "health care", or "volunteering", the discourse analysis was able to trace back patterns that ascribe different positions to the respective HR and CSR concepts. These socially ascribed positions were traced back to the inner centre of "ideal employees'" organization (as for the "ideal worker repertoire"), on the margins (as for the "minorities repertoire"), or within the overall organization (as for the "voices repertoire"). In this vein, the dividing lines between the different concepts started to melt and gave way to a perspective on pressing issues underlying each of the currently discussed HR and CSR concepts.

Furthermore, by identifying repertoire III and its perspective on a becoming corporate culture, the project was able to point towards a way to bridge the analysed dichotomies of "personal", "conceptual", "organizational", and "societal" spheres. These dichotomies – constructed and reaffirmed by means of the first two repertoires – turned out to force the analysed concepts onto the sidelines time and again. Against this backdrop, the relevance of reinforcing the third repertoire in terms of a "pioneer repertoire" can be stressed even more. As for the latter, then, these categories of "individual change" on the one hand and "organizational change" on the other proved to merge in a dialectic approach. Thus, every kind of sense-making – be it self-making, concept-making, organization-making, society-making, or research-making – was conceived of as a constant becoming. Within a conceptual discussion, this approach was further linked to academic concepts of becoming in the tradition of the Heraclitian river of "opposita" (cf. chap. 7.2; 7.3): A creatively changing organization offers creatively changing repertoires for its actors – and thus more potential building blocks for employees' "selves-in-the-making". And vice versa: If individual change is able to enter the organization instead of being carefully kept hidden as a completely private experience, it offers more potential building blocks for an "organization-in-the-making". To give an example, one might recall the program "SideSwitch" and its dichotomous construction of "personal experiences" aside from "what really counts" in term of the first repertoire on the one hand and the vital reflections and voice-giving of the new experiences and turning points within different (individual and organizational) contexts in terms of the third repertoire on the other hand.

Finally, with regard to methodological contributions of the project, questions arose in terms of *research in the making* (chap. 4.2): How can a discourse analytic approach defend its claims of sufficient reliability and validation if it explicitly abandons the goal of depicting reality as it really is? In this light, the quest for a reasonable justification of the results was introduced as an important methodological consideration. Consequently, at this point, one might now underpin the “justification” of the project by summarizing that its findings act as a promising contribution to trace new interrelations of current HR and CSR concepts and to bring their potential for change to fruition.

In this way, the well-established repertoire I and (in terms of its counterpart) repertoire II were analysed as contemporary prevailing language sources when it comes to arguing for the implementation of current HR and CSR endeavours. The repertoires therefore implied different rationales of implementation of the concepts: The first repertoire argued for keeping up with a trend and providing some luxury in better times. Orienting towards repertoire II, on the other hand, dealing with social issues acted as a matter of “social consciousness”. From such a moral-ethical point of view, speakers called on organizations to engage in “pro-social” issues in order to prove that they are not just “heartless”, “money-making machines”. In some contexts, this argument was conceived of as strong enough. Otherwise, those rationales provided by literature and practice were called in that pointed out the economic benefit of the respective HR and CSR strategy. However, these common rationales were challenged by means of the third repertoire and its dialogical becoming perspective. In this vein, the first two repertoires can give way to alternative repertoires that are more likely to embed the concepts within their overall organizational context. Searching for these new sources and encouraging their “other” voices, then, can be understood as a crucial contribution to fostering potential for change towards diversity and differences.

- In the end, to organizations this might still sound like another (more or less feasible) task waiting to find a place among many other well-meant “pro-social” requests. Thus, one might even wonder why organizations should listen to another analysis of HR and CSR concepts at all. There are many representatives of each of the subjects, and every single one claims to be important. Therefore, organizations frequently complain that they cannot meet each specific demand of these concepts anyway. Simply and safely, they still have to focus on the “core business” and tend to feel chronically overloaded. Why should they bother with yet another claim?

Certainly, organizations have to cope with an enormous range of pressing questions. And while they present themselves as willing to pick up a limited number of "(pro-) social" main trends, in terms of the first two repertoires, there is always the cost-benefit calculation to keep track of. In this vein, a common argument might sound as follows: "Actually we do a lot, but we simply cannot show consideration for every single problem that unfortunately exists. We have to draw the line somewhere!" One strategy is doubtlessly to stick to the currently most visible issues whilst neglecting others. This would in any case achieve the target of the first repertoire. However, in terms of organizational impact, such a strategy of wearing blinkers proves to be unable to strike at the root of the subject. In this sense, the findings of the presented project were able to show that the diversity of voices can never be tamed by picking up singular well-defined strands in order to "integrate" them into the existing culture. Differences do not cause a struggle with ("luxurious" or "needy") interests that are additionally brought into an organization. Quite the contrary, differences are already there.

Initially, then, the question was raised of why one should bring the range of contemporary HR and CSR concepts together in the first place instead of simply picking one of them. First of all, one can argue that any concept entails the same pressing issues concerning low acceptance and sustainability. Moreover, these obstacles turn out to emanate from the same challenges. In order to open up to potential for change, they are all challenged to address differences as a tertium comparationis – rather than accomplishing isolated sophisticated and often expensive measures and policies for a limited number of them. Ultimately, organizations are not meant to find the answers to every single need and interest of the different voices. But they should be aware that this range of voices exists and that each of them has a right to be heard. Unfolding the potential of each of the different HR and CSR constructions, then, means reading the singular measures against their broader corporate cultural context. Finally, the respective offers might sound less fancy and glamorous. One might decide not to invest into a fashionable swimming pool. But one might accomplish spaces where a variety of different voices can actually meet and enter into a dialogue. Be it about a measure of "health care", of "volunteering", or of "diversity" – in order to open up its potential for change, it is no longer a matter of the precisely definable point of contact. Rather, organizations are challenged to relate the different measures to each other and to be aware of their mutual basis. Setting out on new lines of flight and breaking new ground, then, means being curious and open to difference itself, not just to different trends.

In this sense, the project asked the question of how the different HR and CSR concepts are able to make a difference within the corporate cultural context. As for the third repertoire and its perspective on continuous change and dialogue, the range of diverse HR and CSR concepts proved to melt within these notions of differences, of becoming, complexity, and self-organization. Consequently, the findings of the project entail crucial implications for "organizational change management" (or: "leading on the edge of chaos", cf., chap. 7.3). These implications for literature and practice will be further illustrated within the following, concluding passage:

As the results were able to show, a concept-making modelled on the first two repertoires always reproduced the marginal position of both the experts (acting as representatives or intermediaries for the particular endeavours) and the employees (making use of a respective measure). Within the context of repertoire III, however, singular representatives of well-defined HR and CSR turned into "change agents". Likewise, manageable "human resources" and individual "problem cases" become pioneers of (again: individual as well as organizational) change. Thus, it was no longer a question of whether the concepts should be introduced *either* bottom-up *or* top-down. In this vein, also the usage of the identified interpretative repertoires was *not* fixed onto the dimensions "employee" versus "expert". Rather, it proved to differ along the perspectives on the different realms of personal, conceptual, organizational, and societal matters and the respective positioning of the different HR and CSR endeavours.

Consequently, the implications for organizational life prove to be – at least – twofold: With regard to employees, individuals are challenged to take their potential role as "pioneers" seriously. Instead of keeping their "other" experiences, backgrounds, interests, needs, or, in short: lives a secret, they are called upon to develop their different voices and to actively bring their alternative repertoires of sense- (i.e.: self-, concept-, organization-, and world-) making into the organization.

Second, following the perspective on "managing" or "leading" in the midst of complexity, the findings ask for critical reflections upon the role of HR and CSR "experts". In this vein, Morgan (1998/1986) gathered five suggestions for guiding a becoming organization. In a nutshell, these suggestions point out that it is important to (1) rethink what we mean by organization, especially the nature of hierarchy and control, (2) learn the art of managing and changing contexts, (3) learn how to use small changes to create large effects, (4) live with continuous transformation and emergent order as a natural state of affairs, and (5) be open to new metaphors that can facilitate processes of self-organization (cf., Morgan, 1998/1986, p. 226). Tying in with such a perspective on change as becoming, and managing as shaping space for self-organization (cf., chap. 7.2; 7.3), the results of the current project point towards this very shift: Taking the claims of the third repertoire seriously means that the task of HR and CSR experts is no longer to impose too much (isolated) control, but to accompany and re-direct the (complex) corporate cultural processes that are always underway. Thus, they are challenged to connect themselves with other actors of the different fields (and not merely with the actors of their own field of interest). Likewise, they are challenged to foster a dialogical culture by means of slowing down, listening, sensitising, and providing "creative spaces" (cf., chap. 7). In this sense, concept-making becomes a genuine contribution to organization-making. Therefore, HR and CSR "experts" and "representatives" are called upon to reflect upon their role as a "change agent" in terms of a "sense maker who redirects change" (Weick & Quinn, 1999, p.366). The crucial task, as the analysis regarding the consequences of the "voices repertoire" suggested, becomes to shape contexts in which self-organization can occur. These contexts – as Weick and Quinn point out – are supposed to allow former isolated innovations to set out on their journey throughout the overall organization:

> *Most organizations have pockets of people somewhere who are already adjusting to the new environment. The challenge is to gain acceptance of continuous change throughout the organization so that these isolated innovations will travel and be seen as relevant to a wider range of purposes at hand (Weick & Quinn, 1999, p. 381).*

In this process, it might have by now become clear that the results of the project by no means suggest this very gaining of acceptance in terms of a laudable effort aside from the core business. Reflecting upon different voices as a common ground of virtually *any* social interaction, by contrast, means bringing these endeavours right within the heart of an organization. Then, the subject of diversity and differences is no longer a matter of a marginal lecture, a well-meant campaign, or a “pro-social” workshop with “astonishingly” few participants. Rather, it turns into a constituting part of organizational live. Leaving behind the dichotomy of “personal”, “organizational”, and “societal” realms, it is entering the agenda of each initial and further training – no more and no less important as maths, a course on cost accounting, or sales strategies.

In general, further research should support this concern of bringing the subject of diversity and differences on the organizational agenda. This means asking for its relevance for each management endeavour from HRM to OCM and focusing on connecting lines rather than on further categories (i.e., separators). Therefore, research on specific HR and CSR concepts – be it on “health care programs”, “cultural diversity”, or “corporate volunteering” – should first of all become aware of its constitutive part within the continuous processes of concept-making.

From this perspective, a salient implication for literature and practice becomes the development of alternative concepts centring on a corporate culture of differences, dialogue (multivoicedness), and organizational becoming. Finally, these new concepts are no longer conceived of as additional HR and CSR endeavours of the rather fixed and impermeable contemporary fields of application. Rather, they are supposed to establish the tertium comparationis of social processes, the frame of reference for virtually *every* further social endeavour of what is currently called “human resource management” or “managing diversity”, “new public management”, “corporate social responsibility”, “sustainability”, or “organizational change management”.

As a further concern resulting from this integrative, interdisciplinary perspective on differences, dialogue, and becoming, future analysis is invited to explicitly study societal building blocks of sense-making, in order to connect them to the findings of (individual and organizational) processes of concept-making. In this context, one might also tackle respective conceptualisations within the different school systems – a claim voiced by several of the interviewees (cf., section 5.3.2).

Ultimately, however, the determining factor remains the (self- or: “research”-reflexive) question of what contribution is meant to be made through dealing with each of the fields introduced. As for the current project, in either case, this academic participation in contemporary processes of concept-making was meant to contribute to fostering different lines of flights in organizations: New lines of flight that accomplish a corporate culture arising from differences as the complex fundamental principle of the social processes taking place within organizational life.

9 References

Acker, J. (1990). 'Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations'. *Gender and Society, 4*, 139-158.

Acker, J. (1992a). Gendering organizational theory. In A. J. Mills & P. Tancred (Eds.), *Gendering organizational analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Acker, J. (1992b). Gendering organizational theory. In A.J.Mills & P. Tancred (Eds.), *Gendering organizational analysis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Alvesson, M., & Billing, Y. D. (1997). *Understanding gender and organizations*. London: Sage.

Alvesson, M., & Deetz, S. (2000). *Doing critical management research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Alvesson, M., & Kärreman, D. (2000). Taking the linguistic turn in organizational research: Challenges, responses, consequences. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 36*(2), 136-158.

Ammann, H. (2001). Schweizer Firmen nehmen Freiwilligkeit ernst. *Schweizer Arbeitgeber, 5*, 184-187.

Ammann, H. (2003). SeitenWechsel - Analyse und Strategie. Genannte und unerkannte Ziele. In T. Ettlin, H.-P. Meier-Dallach & S. G. Gesellschaft (Eds.), *SeitenWechsel. Lernen in anderen Arbeitwelten* (pp. 20-27). Zürich: Orell Füssli.

Antaki, C. (1994). *Explaining and arguing. The social organization of accounts*. London: Sage.

Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (2002). *Discourse analysis means doing analysis: A critique of six analytic shortcomings*. Retrieved www. shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/v1/n1/a1/antaki2002002-paper.htm

Aretz, H.-J., & Hansen, K. (2003). Diversity Management - ein Konzept für den Umgang mit Vielfalt und Komplexität. *ZfO, 4*, 192-198.

Argyris, C. (1999). *On organizational learning*. London: Blackwell.

Argyris, C., & Schön, D. (1999). *Die lernende Organisation. Grundlagen, Methoden, Praxis*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Baillod, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Chance Teilzeitarbeit*. Zürich: vdf.

Bakhtin, M. (1973). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics* (R. W. Rotsel, Trans.). New York: Ardis.

Beck, U. (1999). *Schöne neue Arbeitswelt. Vision: Weltbürgergesellschaft*. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus.

Beck, U. (2000). Wohin führt der Weg, der mit dem Ende der Vollbeschäftigungsgesellschaft beginnt? In U. Beck (Ed.), *Die Zukunft von Arbeit und Demokratie* (pp. 7-66). Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.

Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1980). *Das halbierte Leben: Männerwelt Beruf, Frauenwelt Familie.* Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer.

Benshop, Y., & Doorewaard, H. (1998). Six of one and half a dozen of the other: The gender subtext of taylorism and team-based work. *Gender, Work and Organisation, 5*(1), 5-18.

Bergmann, G. (1964). Strawson's Ontology. In G. Bergmann (Ed.), *Logic and reality* (pp. 171-192). Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Billig, M. (1996). *Arguing and thinking: A rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Crane, M., Middleton, D., & Radley, A. (1988). *Ideological dilemmas: A social psychology*. London: Sage.
Birch, D. (2003). Corporate social responsibility: Some key theoretical issues and concepts for new ways of doing business. *Journal of New Business Ideas and Trends, 1*(1), 1-19.
Blank, R., & Slipp, S. (1994). *Voices of diversity*. New York: American Management Association.
Blommaert, J., & Verschueren, J. (1998). *Debating diversity: Analysing the discourse of tolerance*. London: Routledge.
Bogue, R. (1989). *Deleuze and Guattari*. London: Sage.
Boje, D. M. (1991). The storytelling organization: a study of story performance in an office-supply firm. *Administrative Science Quaterly, 36*, 106-126.
Bonß, W. (2002). Zwischen Erwerbsarbeit und Eigenarbeit. Ein Beitrag zur Debatte um die Arbeitsgesellschaft. *Arbeit, 1*(11), 5-20.
Bosch, G. (1999). Working time: Tendencies and emerging issues. *International Labour Review, 138*(131-150).
Bouwen, R., & Steyaert, C. (1990). Construing organizational texture in young entrepreneurial firms. *Journal of Management Studies, 27*(6), 637-649.
Bouwen, R., & Steyaert, C. (1999). From a dominant voice towards multi-voiced cooperation. In D. L. Cooperrider & J. E. Dutton (Eds.), *Organizational dimensions of global change. No limits to cooperation* (pp. 291-319). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Boyce, M. E. (1995). Collective centring and collective sense-making in the stories and storytelling of one organization. *Organization Studies, 16*(1), 107-137.
Brockmeier, J. (1995). The language of human temporality: Narrative schemes and cultural meanings of time. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 2*, 102-118.
Brockmeier, J. (2001). From the end to the beginning. Retrospective teleology in autobiography. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity. Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture* (pp. 247-280). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Brockmeier, J., & Harré, R. (2001). Narrative. Problems and promises of an alternative paradigm. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity. Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 39-58). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Broekstra, G. (1998). An organization is a conversation. In D. Grant, T. Keenoy & C. Oswick (Eds.), *Discourse and organization*. London: Sage.
Browning, G. K. (2000). *Lyotard and the end of grand narratives*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
Bruner, J. S. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Bruner, J. S. (1993). The autobiographical process. In R. Folkenflik (Ed.), *The culture of autobiography* (pp. 38-56). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Bruner, J. S. (1997). A narrative model of self-construction. In J. G. Snodgrass & R. L. Thompson (Eds.), *The self across psychology: Self recognition, self-awareness and the self concept* (pp. 145-161). New York: New York Academy of Science.
Bruner, J. S. (2001). Self-making and world-making. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity. Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 25-38). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Bürgisser, M. (1996). *Modell Halbe-Halbe. Partnerschaftliche Arbeitsteilung in Familie und Beruf.* Zürich: Werd Verlag.

Bürgisser, M. (2001a). Familie und Beruf im Einklang - partnerschaftlich arbeiten. *Alpha - Der Kadermarkt der Schweiz, 12./13.05.2001*, 1-3.
Bürgisser, M. (2001b). *Freiwilliges und ehrenamtliches Engagement - für die Zukunft neu bewertet! Bericht über die Veranstaltungswoche am GDI 14.-18. Mai 2001*. Zürich: Schweizerische Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft.
Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. London: Routledge.
Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York: Routledge.
Calàs, M., & Smircich, L. (1996). From 'the woman's point of view': Feminist approaches to organization studies. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy & W. R. Nord (Eds.), *Handbook of orgnanization studies* (pp. 218-257). London: Sage.
Campbell Clark, S. (2000). Work/family border theory: A new theory of work/family balance. *Human Relations, 53*(6), 747-770.
Carnevale, A., & Stone, S. (1994). Diversity beyond the golden rule. *Training & Development, 48*(10), 22-40.
Carroll, A. B. (1999). Corporate social responsibility: Evolution of a definitional construct. *Business & Society, 38*(3), 268-295.
Carter, P., & Jackson, N. (2003). Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. In S. Linstead (Ed.), *Organization theory and postmodern thought* (pp. 105-126). London: Sage.
Chia, R. (1995). From modern to postmodern organizational analysis. *Organization Studies, 16*, 579-604.
Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural Psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Colebrook, C. (1999). *Ethics and representation. From Kant to poststructuralism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Collinson, D., & Hearn, J. (1994). Naming men as men: Implications for work, organization and management. *Gender, Work and Organization, 1*, 2-22.
Connor, D. R. (1998). *Leading at the edge of chaos: How to create the nimble organization*. New York: John Wiley.
Cooperrider, D. L. (1996). Resources for getting appreciative inquiry started. *OD Practitioner, 28*(23-34).
Cox, T. (1991). The multicultural organization. *The Executive, 5*(1), 34-47.
Cox, T. (1993). *Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research and practice.* San Francisco: Berett-Koehler.
Cox, T. (1996). The complexity of diversity: Challenges and directions for future research. In S. E. J. M. N. Ruderman (Ed.), *Diversity in work teams. Research paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 235-246). Washington: American Psychological Association.
Cox, T., & Blake, S. (1991). Managing cultural diversity: Implications for organizational competitiveness. *Academy of Management Executive, 5*(3), 45-56.
Cox, T., Lobel, S. A., & McLeod, P. L. (1991). Effects of ethnic group cultural differences on cooperative and competitive behaviour on a group task. *Academy of Management Journal, 34*(4), 827-847.
Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1997). *Finding flow: The psychology of engagement with everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
Cunliffe, A. L. (2002). Social poetics as management inquiry. A dialogical approach. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 11*(2), 128-146.

Czarniawska, B. (1999). *Writing management. Organization theory as a literary genre*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Czarniawska, B., & Joerges, B. (1996). Travels of ideas. In B. Czarniawska & G. Sevón (Eds.), *Translating organizational change* (pp. 13-48). Berlin: De Gruyter.

Danna, K., & Griffin, R. W. (1999). Health and well-being in the workplace: A review and synthesis of the literature. *Journal of Management, 25*(3), 357-384.

Deleuze, G. (1983/1968). *Nietzsche and philosophy* (H. Tomlinson, Trans.). London: Athlone.

Deleuze, G. (1990/1969). *The logic of sense* (M. Lester, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987/1980). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia* (B. Massumi, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Derrida, J. (1974/1967). *Grammatologie* (H.-J. Rheinberger & H. Zischler, Trans.). Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft.

Dunphy, D. (1996). Organizational change in corporate setting. *Human Relations, 49*(5), 541-552.

Edley, N. (2001). Analysing masculinity: Interpretative repertoires, ideologiccal dilemmas and subject positions. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 189-228). London: Sage.

Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discoursive psychology*. London: Sage.

Ely, R. J. (1996). The role of dominant identity and experience in organizational work on diversity. In S. E. J. M. N. Ruderman (Ed.), *Diversity in work teams. Research paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 161-186). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Emmerich, A., & Krell, G. (2001). Diversity-Trainings: Verbesserung der Zusammenarbeit und Führung einer vielfältigen Belegschaft. In G. Krell (Ed.), *Chancengleichheit durch Personalpolitik* (Vol. 1, pp. 64-69). Wiesbaden: Gabler.

Erdönmez, M. (2004). *Cultural diversity management as core competence: an integrated model for managing workforce diversity*. Bamberg: Difo-Druck GmbH.

Ettlin, T., Meier-Dallach, H.-P., & Schweizerische Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft, S. (Eds.). (2003). *SeitenWechsel. Lernen in anderen Lebenswelten*. Zürich: Orell Füssli.

Etzioni, A. (2000). Die Verantwortungsgesellschaft. In A. Pongs (Ed.), *In welcher Gesellschaft leben wir eigentlich? Gesellschaftskonzepte im Vergleich* (Vol. 2, pp. 29-52). München: Dilemma-Verlag.

Ferdman, B. M., & Brody, S. E. (1996). Models of diversity training. In D. Landes & R. S. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (pp. 282-303). Thousand Oaks.

Flick, U. (1996). *Psychologie des technisierten Alltags - Soziale Konstruktion und Repräsentation technischen Wandels in verschiedenen kulturellen Kontexten*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Flick, U. (2000). Episodic interviewing. In M. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound - a handbook* (pp. 75-92). London: Sage.

Ford, J. D. (1999). Organizational change as shifting conversations. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 12*(6), 480-500.

Ford, J. D., & Ford, L. W. (1995). The role of conversations in producing intentional change in organizations. *Academy of Management Revue, 29*(3), 541-570.
Ford, J. D., Ford, L. W., & Mc Namara, R. (2002). Resistance and the background conversations of change. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 15*(2), 105-121.
Foucault, M. (1971/1966). *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften* (U. Köppen, Trans.). Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
Foucault, M. (1972/1969). *The archaeology of knowledge* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). London: Tavistock.
Foucault, M. (1977/1975). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Foucault, M. (1978/1976). *The history of sexuality: An introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans.). Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Frankenhaeuser, M. (1991). The psychophysiology of sex differences as related to occupational status. In M. Frankenhaeuser, U. Lundberg & M. Chesney (Eds.), *Woman, work and health* (pp. 39-64). New York: Plenum Press.
Frederikson, B. L. (1998). What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology, 3*, 300-319.
Freeman, M. (2001). From substance to story: narrative, identity, and the reconstruction of the self. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity. Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 283-298). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Freeman, M., & Brockmeier, J. (2001). Narrative integrity. Autobiographical identity and the meaning of the 'good life'. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity. Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 75-99). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Gabriel, Y. (2000). *Storytelling in organizations. Facts, fictions, and fantasies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
Geertz, C. (1988). *Works and lives*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Gergen, K. J. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. New York: Basic Books.
Gergen, K. J. (1994). *Realities and relationships*. Cambridge: Harvard University.
Gergen, K. J. (1998). *Narrative, moral identity and historical consciousness: a social constructionist account*. Retrieved www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/kgergen
Gergen, K. J. (1999). *An invitation to social construction*. London: Sage.
Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. M. (1986). Narrative form and the construction of psychological science. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger.
Gergen, M. M., & Gergen, K. J. (2000). Qualitative inquiry: tensions and transformations. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1025-1046). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Giarini, O., & Liedtke, P. M. (1998). *Wie wir arbeiten werden. Der neue Bericht an den Club of Rome*. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe.
Gilbert, G. N., & Mulkay, M. (1984). *Opening Pandora's box: A sociological analysis of scientist's discoursis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Goodchild, P. (1997). Deleuzian ethics. *Theory, Culture and Society, 14*(2), 39-50.
Gordon, J. (1992). Getting started on diversity work. *Training, 29*(1), 23-30.
Grant, D., Keenoy, T., & Oswick, C. (Eds.). (1998). *Discourse and organization*. London: Sage.

Grant, D., & Oswick, C. (Eds.). (1996). *Metaphors in organizations*. London: Sage.
Habermas, J. (1976). *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns. Bd.1: Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
Habermas, J. (1981). *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns. Bd. 2: Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
Habisch, A. (2003). *Corporate Citizenship. Gesellschaftliches Engagement von Unternehmen*. Berlin: Springer.
Habrik, M., & Fischer, A. (2005). *Auswirkungen des Instituts der eingetragenen Partnerschaft auf bestehende und künftige Arbeitsverhältnisse*. Zürich: Fachgruppe Arbeitswelt.
Hacker, P. M. S. (1996). *Wittgenstein's place in twentieth-century analytic philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Hacking, I. (1986). "Making up people". In T. C. Heller, M. Sosna & D. E. Wellerby (Eds.), *Reconstructing individualism: Autonomy, individuality and the self in Western thought* (pp. 222-236). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held & T. McGrew (Eds.), *Modernity and its futures*. Cambridge: Polity press.
Hall, S., Held, D., & McGrew, T. (1992). *Modernity and its futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Harré, R. (2001). Metaphysics and narrative: Singularities and multiplicities of the self. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity. Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 59-74). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Harré, R., & Gillett, G. (1994). *The discoursive mind*. London: Sage.
Hasler, P. (2001). Zehn Massnahmen für eine bessere Situation. Familienpolitik aus Sicht der Wissenschaft. *NZZ 16.05.2001, 112*, 15.
Hassan, I. (1985). The culture of postmodernism. *Theory, Culture and Society, 2*(3), 119-131.
Hayles, V. R. (1996). Diversity training and development. In R. L. Craig (Ed.), *The ASTD training and development handbook* (pp. 104-123). New York: McGraw Hill.
Held, K. (1980). *Heraklit, Parmenides und der Anfang von Philosophie und Wissenschaft. Eine phänomenologische Besinnung*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
Heracleous, L., & Hendry, J. (2000). Discourse and the study of organization: Toward a structurational perspective. *Human Relations, 53*(10), 1251-1286.
Hermanns, H. (2000). Interviewen als Tätigkeit. In U. Flick, E. v. Kardorff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch* (pp. 360-368). Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.
Hirschberger, J. (1981). *Geschichte der Philosophie* (Vol. 1). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.
Hitzler, R., & Honer, A. (1994). Bastelexistenz. Über subjektive Konsequenzen der Individualisierung. In U. Beck & E. Beck-Gernsheim (Eds.), *Riskante Freiheiten* (pp. 307-315). Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
Hornberger, S., & Olbert-Bock, S. (2001). *Vereinbarkeit von Beruf und Familie. Familienbewusste Personalpolitik als Teil der Unternehmenspolitik*. Retrieved http:/www-iip.wiwi.uni-karlsruhe.de
Hosking, D.-M., Dachler, H.-P., & Gergen, K. J. (1995). *Management and organisation: Relational alternatvies to individualism*. Aldershot: Awebury Ashgate Publishing.

Jackson, S. E. E. (1991). *Diversity in the workplace: Human resources initiatives*. New York: Guilford Press.

Janssens, M., & Steyaert, C. (2003, 16-17th May 2002). *Theories of diversity within organisation studies: Debates and future trajectories.* Paper presented at the ENGIME-workshop on cities and diversity, Leuven, Belgium.

Jencks, C. (1991). *The language of post-modern architecture*. New York: Rizzoli.

Jent, N. (2003). *Learning from Diversity: Gleichwertigkeit Gleichartigkeit* (Vol. 2). St. Gallen: I-FPM-Schriftenreihe.

Jent, N. (2004). Learning from Diversity: Gleichwertigkeit Gleichartigkeit. In M. Hilb (Ed.), *Management der Human-Ressourcen – Neue Führungskonzepte im Praxistest* (Vol. 4). Neuwied, Kriftel: Luchterhand.

Johnston, W., & Packer, A. (1987). *Workforce 2000: Work and workers for the twenty-first century*. Indianapolis: Hudson Institute.

Keenoy, T., Marshak, R. J., Oswick, C., & Grant, D. (2000). The Discourses of Organizing. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 36*(2), 133-135.

Kelle, U. (2000). Computergestützte Analyse qualitativer Daten. In U. Flick, E.v.Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Handbuch* (pp. 485-501). Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.

Keupp, H. (1994). Ambivalenzen postmoderner Identität. In U. Beck & E. Beck-Gernsheim (Eds.), *Riskante Freiheiten* (pp. 336-352). Frankfurt a. M.

Keupp, H., Ahbe, T., Gmür, W., Höfer, R., Kraus, W., Mitzscherlich, B., et al. (1999). *Identitätskonstruktionen. Das Patchwork der Identitäten in der Spätmoderne*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.

Kofodimos, J. (1995). *Beyond work-family programs: Confronting and resolving the underlying causes of work/ personal life conflict*. Greensboro: Center for creative leadership.

Kopper, E. (1996). Managing Diversity - Swiss Style. *Cutural Diversity at Work Bulletin, 8*(5).

Kopper, E., & Kiechl, R. (1997). *Globalisierung: Von der Vision zur Praxis - Methoden und Ansätze zur Entwicklung interkultureller Kompetenz*. Zürich: Versus Verlag.

Kotter, J. P. (1996). *Leading change*. Boston: Harvard Business School.

Krell, G. (2001). Chancengleichheit durch Personalpolitik: Von "Frauenförderung" zu "Diversity Management". In G. Krell (Ed.), *Chancengleichheit durch Personalpolitik* (pp. 17-37). Wiesbaden: Gabler.

Kress, B., Seehausen, H., & Strohmeier, J. (1999). Orte für Väter. Die Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf - eine Herausforderung für Männer und Väter. In U. Hagemann, B. Kress & H. Seehausen (Eds.), *Betrieb und Kinderbetreuung* (pp. 111-126). Opladen: Leske+ Budrich.

Kristeva, J. (1984/1974). *Revolution in Poetic Language* (M. Waller, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Kuark, J. K. (2002). TopSharing: Jobsharing in Führungspostionen. *Wirtschaftspsychologie. Themenschwerpunkt: Management und Geschlecht, 1*(4), 70-78.

Lafont, C. (1999). *The linguistic turn in hermeneutic philosophy*. London: The MIT Press.

Levy, D. (1994). Chaos theory and strategy: Theory, application, and managerial implications. *Strategic Management Journal, 15*, 167-178.

Lewin, K. (1951). *Field theory in social science*. New York: Harper & Row.

Lewis, S. (1997). 'Family friendly' employment policies: a route to changing organizational culture or playing about the margins? *Gender, Work and Organisation, 4*(1), 13-23.
Lewis, S. (2001). Restructuring workplace cultures: the ultimate work-family challenge? *Women in Management Review, 16*(1), 21-29.
Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). *Narrative research. Reading, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Liggett, H. (1988). Stars are not born: An interpretative approach to the politics of disability. *Disablity, Handicap and Society, 3*(3), 263-276.
Lindgren, M., & Wahlin, N. (2003). Diversity and reflexive identity construction. In S. Leijon, R. Lillhannus & G. Widell (Eds.), *Reflecting diversity. Viewpoints from Scandinavia* (pp. 91-108). Göteborg: BAS Publishers.
Littlefield, D. (1995). Managing diversity seen as core economic value. *People Management, 1*(12), 12.
Litvin, D. (1997). The discourse of diversity: From biology to management. *Organization, 4*(2), 187-209.
Lobel, S. A. (1999). Impacts of diversity and work-life initiatives in organizations. In G. N. Powel (Ed.), *Handbook of gender and work* (pp. 453-476). London: Sage.
Lobel, S. A., & Ernst Kossek, E. (1996). Human resource strategies to support diversity in work and personal lifestyles: beyond the 'family friendly' organization. In E. E. Kossek & S. A. Lobel (Eds.), *Managing diversity. Human resource strategies for transforming the workplace.* (pp. 221-244). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
Lobel, S. A., & Kossek, E. E. (1996). Human resource strategies to support diversity in work and personal lifestyles: beyond the 'family friendly' organization. In E. E. Kossek & S. A. Lobel (Eds.), *Managing diversity. Human resource strategies for transforming the workplace.* (pp. 221-244). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
Logan, D., & Tuffrey, M. (1999). *Companies in communities: Valuing the contribution*. London: Charities Aid Foundation.
Logan, D., & Tuffrey, M. (2000). *Companies in communities: Assessing the impact*. London: Charities Aid Foundation.
Lorbiecki, A., & Jack, G. (2000). Critical turns in the evolution of diversity management. *British Journal of Management, 11*(Special Issue), 17-31.
Lyotard, J.-F. (1986/1979). *Das postmoderne Wissen*. Graz: Böhlau.
Mansfeld, J. (1987). *Die Vorsokratiker*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun.
Martin, J. (1992). *Cultures in organizations. Three perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Matten, D., & Moon, J. (2004). 'Corporate Social Responsibility Education in Europe'. *Journal of Business Ethics, 54*(4), 323-337.
McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York: William Morrow.
McEnrue, M. P. (1992). Managing diversity; Los Angeles before and after the riots. *Organizational Dynamics, 21*(31), 18-29.
McGinn, M. (1997). *Routledge philosophy guidebook to Wittgenstein and the philosophical investigations*. London: Routledge.
McGrath, J. E., Berdahl, J. L., & Arrow, H. (1996). Traits, expectations, culture and clout: The dynamics of diversity in workgroups. In S. E. Jackson & M. N. Ruderman (Eds.), *Diversity in work teams. Research pardadigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 17-45). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Mishler, E. G. (1986). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Moebius, S. (2003). *Die soziale Konstituierung des Anderen : Grundrisse einer poststrukturalistischen Sozialwissenschaft nach Lévinas und Derrida*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus.
Morgan, G. (1998/1986). *Images of organization. The executive edition*. San Francisco; Thousand Oaks: Berrett-Koehler Publishers; Sage.
Morrison, A. M. (1992). *The new leaders: Guidelines on leadership diversity in America*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Morson, G. S., & Emerson, C. (1990). *Mikail Bakhtin, creation of a prosaics*. Standford, CA: Standford University Press.
Mühlhäusler, P., & Harré, R. (1990). *Pronouns and people: The linguistic construction of social and personal identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Muhr, T. (1991). ATLAS/ti - Ein Werkzeug fur die computerunterstützte Textinterpretation. In W. Glatzer (Ed.), *Modernisierung moderner Gesellschaften* (pp. 816-820). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
Muhr, T. (1994). ATLAS/ti: Ein Werkzeug für die Textinterpretation. In A. Böhm, A. Mengel & T. Muhr (Eds.), *Texte verstehen - Konzepte, Werkzeuge, Methoden. Schriften zur Informationswissenschaft* (Vol. 14, pp. 317-324). Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.
Mutz, G. (1997). Zukunft der Arbeit. Chancen für eine Tätigkeitsgesellschaft? *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B 48-49*, 31-40.
Mutz, G. (2002). Pluralisierung und Entgrenzung in der Erwerbsarbeit. *Arbeit, 1*(11), 21-32.
Mutz, G., & Korfmacher, S. (2000). *Das Projekt Switch. Ein 'take-off' für bürgerschaftliches Engagement. Voraussetzungen, Erfahrungen, Empfehlungen. Forschungsbericht an die Siemens AG*. München.
Nealon, J. T. (1999). *Alterity politics. Ethics and performative subjectivity.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Nentwich, J. (2004). *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Differenz und Gleichheit. Neue Wege für die Gleichstellungsarbeit*. Königstein/ Taunus: Ulrike Helmer Verlag.
Nkomo, S. M. (1992). The emperor has no clothes: Rewriting 'race in organizations'. *Academy of Management Review, 17*, 487-513.
Nkomo, S. M. (1996). Identities and the complexity of diversity. In S. E. J. M. N. Ruderman (Ed.), *Diversity in work teams. Research paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 247-254). Washington: American Psychological Association.
Northcraft, G. B., Polzer, J. T., Neale, M. A., & Kramer, R. M. (1996). Diversity, social identity, and performance: Emergent social dynamics in cross-functional teams. In S. E. Jackson & M. N. Ruderman (Eds.), *Diversity in work teams. Research pardadigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 69-96). Washington: American Psychological Association.
O'Connor, E. S. (1995). Paradoxes of participation: Textual analysis and organizational change. *Organization Studies, 16*, 769-803.
O'Connor, E. S. (2000). Plotting the organization. *The embedded narrative as a construct for studying change, 36*(2), 174-192.
Orlikowski, W. J. (1996). Improvising organizational transformation overtime: A situated change perspective. *Information Systems Research, 7*(1), 63-92.
Ostendorp, A., & Nentwich, J. (2005). Im Wettbewerb um 'Familienfreundlichkeit'. Konstruktionen familienfreundlicher Wirklichkeiten zwischen

gleichstellerischen Idealen und pragmatischer Machbarkeit. *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 17*(3), 333-356.
Ostendorp, A., Nentwich, J., Resch, D., & Dachler, H.-P. (2003). *"Family Friendliness in Organisationen". Eine diskursanalytische Untersuchung verschiedener Verständnisse und Konsequenzen von "Familienfreundlichkeit". Ergebnisse eines vom Grundlagenforschungsfonds der HSG geförderten Projekts.* Retrieved www.opsy.unisg.ch
Ostendorp, A., Ostendorp, C., & Wehner, T. (2001). Was macht den Erfolg von Freiwilligeninitiativen aus? Teil I: Vier Beschreibungsdimensionen. *Harburger Beiträge zur Psychologie und Soziologie der Arbeit, 28*.
Owens, R. (1997). Diversity: A bottomline issue. *Workforce, 76*(3), 3-6.
Parker, I. (1989). Discourse and power. In J.Shotter & K.Gergen (Eds.), *Texts of identity* (pp. 55-69). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse dynamics*. London: Routledge.
Porras, J. I., & Silvers, R. C. (1991). Organization development and transformation. *Annual Review of Psychology, 42*, 51-78.
Potter, J. (1996). *Representing reality. Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. Sage: London.
Potter, J. (1997). Discourse analysis as a way of analysing naturally occuring talk. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 144-160). London: Sage.
Potter, J. (2003). *Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical background*. Retrieved Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences. Richardson Handbook for web.
Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.
Reed, M. I., & Anthony, P. D. (Eds.). (1992). *Rethinking organization, new directions in organization theory and analysis*. London: Sage.
Resch, M., & Bamberg, E. (2005). Work-Life-Balance: Ein neuer Blick auf die Vereinbarkeit von Berufs- und Privatleben? *Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie, 49*(4), 171-175.
Rhodes, J. M. (1999). Making the business case for diversity in american companies. *Personalführung, 32*(5), 22-26.
Richter, P. (1997). Arbeit und Nicht-Arbeit. Eine notwendige Perspektivenerweiterung in der Arbeitspsychologie. In I. Udris (Ed.), *Arbeitspsychologie für morgen. Herausforderungen und Perspektiven* (pp. 17-36). Heidelberg: Asanger.
Rorty, R. (1992/ 1967). *The linguistic turn. Essays in philosophical method (with two retrospective essays)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rosenthal, G. (2003). The healing effects of storytelling: on the conditions of curative storytelling in the context of research and counselling. *Qualitative Inquiry, 9*(6), 915-933.
Rosenthal, G., & Fischer-Rosenthal, W. (2000). Analyse narrativ-biographischer Interviews. In U. Flick, E.v.Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Handbuch* (pp. 456-467). Reinbek: Rowohlt.
Rosett, A., & Bickham, T. (1994). Diversity training. *Training, 31*(1), 40-46.
Sarbin, T. R. (1986). The narrative as root metaphor for psychology. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger.
Sarup, M. (1993). *An introductory guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism*. Atlanta: University of Georgia Press.

Saussure, F. d. (1974/1916). *Course in general linguistics*. London: Fontana.
Schär-Moser, M. (2001). Teilzeitarbeit für Männer. In J. Baillod (Ed.), *Chance Teilzeitarbeit* (pp. 135-154). Zürich: vdf.
Schein, E. H. (1992). *Organizational culture and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Schein, E. H. (1996). Kurt Lewin in the classroom, in the field and in change theory: Notes toward a model of managed learning. *Systemic Practice, 9*(1), 27-47.
Schein, E. H. (1999). *The corporate culture survival guide: Sense and nonsense about culture change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Schöffmann, D. (2001). *Wenn alle gewinnen. Bürgerschaftliches Engagement von Unternehmen*. Hamburg: Edition Körber-Stiftung.
Schönig, B., & Krauss, G. (2002). Corporate Volunteering. In D. Rosenkranz & A. Weber (Eds.), *Freiwilligenarbeit* (pp. 209-219). Weinheim: Juventa.
Schubert, R., Littmann-Wernli, S., & Tingler, P. (2002). *Corporate Volunteering - Unternehmen entdecken die Freiwilligenarbeit*. Bern: Paul Haupt.
Schur, L., Kruse, D., & Blanck, P. (2005). Corporate culture and the employment of persons with disabilites. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 23*(1), 3-20.
Schwager, T., & Udris, I. (1996). Verhaltens- bzw. verhaltensorientierte Massnahmen in der betrieblichen Gesundheitsförderung - Eine Recherche in Schweizer Betrieben. In G. Amann & R. Wipplinger (Eds.), *Gesundheitsförderung - ein multidimensionales Tätigkeitsfeld*. Tübingen: dgvt-Verlag.
Schwager, T., & Udris, I. (1998). Gesundheitsförderung in Schweizer Betrieben. In E.Bamberg, A. Ducki & A.-M. Metz (Eds.), *Handbuch betriebliche Gesundheitsförderung* (pp. 437-444). Göttingen: Verlag für Angewandte Psychologie.
Segal, J. A. (1997). Diversify for dollars. *HR Magazine, 42*(4), 134-140.
Senghaas-Knobloch, E. (1999). Von der Arbeits- zur Tätigkeitsgesellschaft? Zu einer aktuellen Debatte. *Arbeit, 2*, 117-136.
Sepehri, P. (2002). *Diversity und Managing Diversity in internationalen Organisationen: Wahrnehmung zum Veständnis und ökonomischer Relevanz. Dargestellt am Beispiel einer empirischen Untersuchung in einem Unternehmensbereich der Siemens AG*. München: Hampp.
Serres, M. (1995/1982). *Genesis* (G. James & J. Nielson, Trans.). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
Shakespeare, T. (1996). Disability, identity and difference. In C. Barnes & G. Mercer (Eds.), *Exploring the divide* (pp. 94-113). Leeds: The Disability Press.
Shotter, J. (1993a). *Conversational realities*. London: Sage.
Shotter, J. (1993b). *Cultural politics of everyday life*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Simon, R. W. (1995). Gender, multiple roles, role meaning, and mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 36*, 182-194.
Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and organizational analysis. *Administrative Science Quaterly, 28*, 339-358.
Sointu, E. (2005). The rise of an ideal: Tracing changing discourses of wellbeing. *The Sociological Review, 53*(2), 255-274.
Sparks, K., Cooper, C. L., Fried, Y., & Shirmon, A. (1997). The effects of hours of work on health: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 70*, 391-408.

Sparks, K., Faragher, B., & Cooper, C. L. (2001). Well-being and occupational health in the 21st century workplace. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 74*, 489-509.
Steyaert, C. (2002). *Imaginative geographies: On creative spaces of organizing*. Retrieved www. opsy.unisg.ch
Steyaert, C. (2006). Cities as heterotopias and thirdspaces: The example of ImagiNation, the Swiss Expo 02. In S. R. Clegg & M. Kornberger (Eds.), *Space, organization and management theory*. Copenhagen: Liber & CBS Press.
Steyaert, C., & Bouwen, R. (1994). Group methods of organizational analysis. In C. Cassel & G. Symon (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in organizations research* (pp. 123-146). London: Sage.
Steyaert, C., & Janssens, M. (2003). Qualifying otherness. In R. L. S. Leijon, G. Widell (Ed.), *Reflecting diversity. Viewpoints from Scandinavia* (pp. 41-55). Göteborg: BAS Publishers.
Steyaert, C., & Janssens, M. (2003/2001). *Multivoicedness: Organizing (with) difference (transl. of Meerstemmigheid: Organiseren met verschil. Leuven: Academic Press/ Van Gorcum)*.Unpublished manuscript, St. Gallen.
Stierstorfer, K. (1998). linguistic turn. In A. Nünning (Ed.), *Metzler Lexikon Literatur- und Kulturtheorie: Ansätze-Personen-Grundbegriffe* (pp. 312). Stuttgart: Metzler.
Stuber, M. (2004). *Diversity. Das Potenzial von Vielfalt nutzen - den Erfolg durch Offenheit steigern*. München: Luchterhand.
Sturdy, A., & Grey, C. (2003). Beneath and beyond organizational change management: Exploring alternatives. *Organization, 10*(4), 651-662.
Tepe, P. (1998). *Postmoderne. Poststrukturalismus*. Wien: Passagen Verlag.
Thachankary, T. (1992). Organizations as "texts": Hermeneutics as a model for understanding organizational change. *Research in Organizational Change and Development, 6*, 197-233.
Thisted, L. N. (2003). The shadows of time - the other narrates the meaning of working in the diverse organization. In S. Leijon, R. Lillhannus & G. Widell (Eds.), *Reflecting diversity. Viewpoints from Scandinavia* (pp. 57-72). Göteborg: BAS Publishers.
Thisted, L. N., & Steyaert, C. (2006). Voicing differences and becoming other: Life-stories of immigrants in an organizational context. In D. M. Hosking & S. McNamee (Eds.), *The social construction of organization*. Oslo: Liber/ Copenhagen Business School Press.
Thomas, R. R. (1990). From affirmative action to affirming diversity. *Harvard Business Review, 68*(2), 107-117.
Thomas, R. R. (1991). *Beyond race and gender: Unleashing the power of your total workforce by managing diversity*. New York: AMACOM.
Tienari, J., Quack, S., & Theobald, H. (2002). Organizational reforms, 'ideal workers' and gendered orders: a cross-societal comparison. *Organization Studies, 23*(2), 249-279.
Triandis, H. C. (1996). The importance of contexts in studies of diversity. In S. E. Jackson & M. N. Ruderman (Eds.), *Diversity in work teams. Researching paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 225-234). Washington: American Psychological Association.
Tsoukas, H., & Chia, R. (2002). On organizational becoming. *Organization Science, 13*(5), 567-582.

Ulich, E. (2000). Beschäftigungswirksame Arbeitszeitmodelle. In R. Wieland & K. Scherrer (Eds.), *Arbeitswelten von morgen. Neue Technologien und Organisationsformen, Gesundheit und Arbeitsgestaltung, flexible Arbeitszeit- und Beschäftigungsmodelle* (pp. 64-76). Darmstadt: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Ulich, E., & Wülser, M. (2004). *Gesundheitsmanagement in Unternehmen. Arbeitspsychologische Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: Gabler.

UniversumCommunications. (2002). *Universum Young Professional Survey 2002*. Retrieved www.universumeurope.com

UniversumCommunications. (2003). *Universum Graduate Survey 2003*. Retrieved www.universumeurope.com

Vygotsky, L. S. (1986/1934). *Denken und Sprechen.* (G. Sewekow, Trans.). Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer.

Warr, P. (1999). Well-being and the workplace. In D.Kahneman, E. Deiner & N.Schwarz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 392-412). New York: Sage.

Watson, T. J. (1995). Rhetoric, discourse and argument in organizational sense making: A reflexive tale. *Organizational Studies, 16*(5), 805-821.

Watson, W. E., Kumar, K., & Michaelsen, L. K. (1993). Cultural diversity's impact on interaction process and performance: Comparing homogenous and diverse task groups. *Academy of Management Journal, 36*, 590-602.

Wehner, T., Mieg, H., & Ostendorp, C. (2003). Corporate volunteering: Concept and empirical results. In K. K. H. Strasser, H. Rausch & H. Bubb (Ed.), *Quality of work and product in enterprises of the future - Qualität von Arbeit und Produkt in Unternehmen der Zukunft* (pp. 858-861). Stuttgart: Ergonomia.

Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. London: Sage.

Weick, K. E., & Quinn, R. E. (1999). Organizational change and development. *Annual Review of Psychology, 50*, 361-386.

Wentling, R. M. (2001). *Diversity in the work force*: National Dissemination Center for Career and Technical Education.

Westebbe, A., & Logan, D. (1996). *Corporate Citizenship. Unternehmen im gesellschaftlichen Dialog*. Wiesbaden: Gabler.

Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why work and family conflict and what to do about it.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wittgenstein, L. (1984/1921). *Werkausgabe Bd. 1, Tractatus logico-philosophicus. Tagebücher 1914-1916. Philosophische Untersuchungen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

Wittgenstein, L. (2003/1953). *Philosophische Untersuchungen.* Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Witzel, A. (1989). Das problemzentrierte Interview. In G. Jüttemann (Ed.), *Qualitative Forschung in der Psychologie. Grundfragen, Verfahrensweisen, Anwendungsfelder* (pp. 227-258). Heidelberg: Asanger.

Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis. Methods for studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Zölch, M., Wodtke, S., & Haselwander, E. (2002). Teizeitarbeit im Management. Potentiale und Barrieren. *Wirtschaftspsychologie. Themenschwerpunkt: Management und Geschlecht, 1*(4), 78-84.

10 Appendices

APPENDIX A: Guideline for problem-centred interviews with experts

1. Warm-up
• Sie sind Expertin/ Experte für Diversity/ Health Care/ Corporate Volunteering/ das Program "SeitenWechsel". Bitte erzählen Sie doch einmal ganz allgemein, was Ihre Tätigkeit so ausmacht?
2. Content/ goals / target groups of the respective concepts
• Eckpfeiler: Was würden Sie als zentrale Aspekte des Konzepts hervorheben? • An wen wenden sich die Massnahmen? Gibt es bestimmte Zielgruppen? • Welche Ziele werden verfolgt? • Gibt es da aus Ihrer Sicht Prioritäten? Welche?
3. Acceptance/ organizational positioning
• Wie werden die jeweiligen Angebote angenommen? • Von welchen AkteurInnen werden die entsprechenden Massnahmen getragen? • Steht diese Konzeption in Verbindung zu XY/ YZ (further HR and CSR concepts)? In welcher Form?
4. Reflection / dealing with challenges
• Was würden Sie als grösste Herauforderungen bezeichnen? • Wie gehen Sie damit um? • Können Sie konkrete Beispiele nennen, wo Sie das Gefühl haben: Hier haben wir etwas bewirkt? Oder: Hier haben wir nicht erreicht, was wir uns erhofft hatten?
5. Foresight
• Wenn Sie jetzt einmal in die Zukunft blicken, was sind Ihre persönlichen Wünsche und Visionen z.B. für die nächsten fünf Jahre?

• Was könnte man anders machen / verbessern / fallen lassen?
6. Resumee and further interlocutors
• Fällt Ihnen etwas ein, worüber wir nicht gesprochen haben und was Sie an dieser Stelle noch ergänzen würden? Oder gibt es etwas, was Sie abschliessend noch einmal besonders hervorheben möchten? • Gibt es weitere ExpertInnen/ Mitarbeitende, die Sie für ein solches Interview vorschlagen würden?

APPENDIX B: Guideline for problem-centred interviews with employees

1. Biographical narration
• Bitte erzählen Sie doch einmal Ihre Geschichte wie es dazu kam, dass Sie an XY teilgenommen haben/ YZ in Anspruch nehmen.
2. Experiences
• Was bedeutet diese Teilnahme/ dieses Modell für Sie? Wie sind Ihre persönlichen Erfahrungen damit? • Würden Sie sagen, dass sich bei Ihnen dadurch irgendetwas geändert hat? Wie sieht diese Veränderung aus? • Gab/ gibt es bezüglich Ihrer Teilnahme / Ihres Modells irgendwelche besonderen Herausforderungen? Welche?
3. Agency/ support
• Gab/ gibt es besondere Reaktionen in Ihrem Umfeld (KollegInnen, Vorgesetzte, Bekannte, Verwandte…)? • Gab/ gibt es etwas oder jemanden, wo Sie sagen würden, hier wurden Sie besonders unterstützt (KollegInnen, Vorgesetzte, Bekannte, Verwandte, ExperInnen, Programme, Modelle…)?
3. Acceptance/ organizational positioning
• Wie würden Sie persönlich solche Angebote und Programme in Ihrem Unternehmen einstufen? • Finden Sie, dass das eine Rolle bei der Wahl des Unternehmens spielen kann, welche Konzepte dort angeboten werden?

4. Foresight
• Wenn Sie jetzt einmal in die Zukunft blicken, was sind Ihre persönlichen Wünsche und Visionen bezüglich solcher Konzepte? • Was könnte man anders machen / verbessern / fallen lassen?
5. Resumee and further interlocutors
• Fällt Ihnen etwas ein, worüber wir nicht gesprochen haben und was Sie an dieser Stelle noch ergänzen würden? Oder gibt es etwas, was Sie abschliessend noch einmal besonders hervorheben möchten? • Gibt es weitere ExpertInnen/ Mitarbeitende, die Sie für ein solches Interview vorschlagen würden?

CURRICULUM VITAE

of Anja Ostendorp (Renner), born on 25. April 1972 in Reutlingen, Germany

Education

10/04 to 04/06	Doctoral studies in applied psychology, University of Zurich
04/99 to 09/00	Postgraduate education in work and organizational psychology, University of Hagen
04/92 to 03/99	M.A. Graduate studies in psychology, literature, sociology TU Berlin, University of Konstanz, University of Hagen, winter term 93/94: language course holidays USA
09/82 to 06/91	General qualification for university entrance (Uhland-Gymnasium Tübingen)

Professional experience

Since 01/06	Research associate at the chair for organizational psychology, University of St. Gallen / project „Zusammenleben im Quartier"
10/03 – 12/05	Research associate at the chair for organizational psychology, University of St. Gallen / doctoral project (MHV- Swiss National Science Foundation Grant)
10/02-10/03	Research associate at the chair for organizational psychology, University of St. Gallen / project „understandings of family friendliness and potential for change"
09/00 to 08/01	Research associate at the institute for work psychology, ETH Zurich, project „volunteering and good practice"
01/92 to 12/97	Student jobs in the sectors of industry, services, training, research

Publications & presentations

Ostendorp, A., Ostendorp, C. & Wehner, T. (2001). *Was macht den Erfolg von Freiwilligeninitiativen aus? Teil I: Vier Beschreibungsdimensionen und ein Erfolgsfaktor.* In: Harburger Beiträge zur Psychologie und Soziologie der Arbeit, 28.

Ostendorp, A., Ostendorp, C. & Wehner, T. (2001). *Was macht den Erfolg von Freiwilligeninitiativen aus? Teil I: Vier Beschreibungsdimensionen und ein Erfolgsfaktor und Teil II: 14 Organisationsporträts.* Zürich: ETH + Schweizerische Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft.

Wehner, T., Ostendorp, C. & Ostendorp, A. (2002). *Good practice? Auf der Suche nach Erfolgsfaktoren in gemeinwohlorientierten Freiwilligeninitiativen.* In: Arbeit. Zeitschrift für Arbeitsforschung , Arbeitsgestaltung und Arbeitspolitik. 1, 11, S. 48-62.

Nentwich, J., Ostendorp, A. & Resch, D. (2002). *„Family Friendliness"- Eine neue Herausforderung für Unternehmen und Mitarbeitende? Erste Ergebnisse eines Forschungsprojekts.* Presentated as part of the "Society and Gender" (University of St.Gallen) series held in St. Gallen in the 2002/2003 winter term.

Resch, D., Nentwich, J. & Ostendorp, A. (2003). *„Family Friendliness" – Questioning the Identity of Work, Gender and Organizations?* Paper presented at the 11th European Congress on Work and Organizational Psychology. May 14-17 th 2003. Lisbon, Portugal.

Ostendorp, A., Nentwich, J., Resch, D. & Dachler, P. (2003). *„Family Friendliness" in Organisationen. Eine diskursanalytische Untersuchung verschiedener Verständnisse und Konsequenzen von „Familienfreundlichkeit".* Universität St. Gallen: OPSY Working Paper No. 2. www.opsy.unisg.ch.

Ostendorp, A. & Nentwich, J. (2005). *Im Wettbewerb um "Familienfreundlich-keit": Konstruktionen familienfreundlicher Wirklichkeiten zwischen gleichstellerischen Idealen und pragmatischer Machbarkeit*. Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 17 (3), S. 333-356.

Ostendorp, A. & Steyaert, C. (2006). *Diversity and differences in organizations between normalization, marginalization, and alterization - a discourse psychological approach.* Accepted paper to be presented at the congress on "qualitative diversity research". September 19-20th 2006. Leuven, Belgium.